Internationale Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt

Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte
www.haydnstiftung.at

Thomas Tolley

Inspiring Haydn: Four Seasons at London's Art Exhibitions (1791–1795)

In: Original – Interpretation – Rezeption. Referate dreier Haydntagungen. Hrsg. von Walter Reicher. – Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte. Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt, Band 12. Wien, Hollitzer Verlag 2020, S. 33 – 104.

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INTRODUCTION: "DIE JAHRESZEITEN" AS 'A PICTURE GALLERY':

One challenge for a biographer whose subject is a composer is how to write about music so that the reader who has never heard it grasps its character and significance. In the case of the biography of Haydn by his friend Giuseppe Carpani (1752–1825), first published in 1812, the author relied chiefly on non-musical means to meet this challenge. When it came to the oratorio "Die Jahreszeiten" (Hob.XXI:3), one of Haydn's last extended compositions (first performed 1801), the author asks readers to imagine,

> a picture gallery full of different genres [of painting], different subjects and varied colouring. Four large pictures are shown among the smaller ones. The subjects of these principal pictures are: in the first part, the snow, the ice and the North Wind; in the second, a summer storm; in the third, a hunt; and in the fourth part, an evening gathering of country people[1].

Carpani extended his notion that "Die Jahreszeiten" was conceived in the manner of a picture gallery by describing the principal episodes in the composition as though each were a painting. In treating the summer storm (no. 10), for example, Carpani underlined his approach by invoking the names of well-known artists to convey the force of Haydn's music:

> What richness in this picture! What force! What images! What brush-work! No piece of music is more spectacular than this one, nor is any ensemble more astonishing. This is a brilliant picture, conceived in the style of Michelangelo or Tintoretto[2].

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[1] 'Immaginatevi una galleria di quadri diversi di genere, di soggetto, di colorito, Quattro quadroni principai figurano fra I quadri minori. Queste masse maggiori sono nella prima parte la neve, il gelo, gli aquiloni; nella seconda il temporale; nella terza la caccia, nella quarta la serata de'contadini': Giuseppe Carpani, Le Haydine, ovvero lettere su la vita e le opere del celebre Maestro Giuseppe Haydn. Milan 1812, p. 205. Identical text in 2nd ed., Padua 1823, p. 211.

[2] 'Che ricchezza in quel quadro! che forza! che immagini! che pennello! Non v'è nell' arsenale della musica pezza più enfatico di questo; un tutto di tanto impegno. E Quadro di macchina, trattato al l'uso di *Michelangelo*, o del *Tintoretto*': Carpani, Le Haydine, p. 207f.

It took little time before Carpani's characterisation of Haydn's final oratorio as 'a picture gallery' reached parts of Europe well beyond the Italian audiences he originally had in mind. The account of Haydn by Stendhal (writing under the pseudonym L.A.C. Bombet) published in 1814, essentially plagiarised from Carpani, left the latter's formulation largely intact except that, in translating it into French, he extended the notion yet further. Instead of conceiving four walls of a single room, each wall representing a different season, as Carpani's text implies, Stendhal asked reader to imagine an enlarged exhibition space comprising a whole suite of rooms, one for each season[3].

Stendhal simplified and condensed Carpani's longwinded prose. But the most striking element of his account of "Die Jahreszeiten", its reliance on the visual arts throughout to convey the nature of musical effects, he left largely intact with just slight modification to address a more urbane readership. When it came to conveying Haydn's extraordinary creative powers in evoking the summer storm, for example, Stendhal assumed his readers' knowledge of one of the most famous of Old Masters: "Here, Haydn is in his element; all is fire, tumult, noise, and terror. It is one of Michelangelo's pictures"[4]. Knowledge of Michelangelo's best-known paintings, those decorating the Sistine Chapel in Rome, had recently been widely disseminated through relatively inexpensive printed reproductions[5]. Stendhal trusted readers to comprehend the impact of Haydn's achievement by means of a familiar visual parallel.

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[3] '... figurez-vous une galerie de tableaux different par le genre, le sujet et le coloris. Cette galerie est divisée en quatre salles; au milieu de chacune d'elles paraît un grand tableau principal. ...' Lettres écrites de Vienne en Autriche, sur le célèbre compositeur J[h]. Haydn ... par Louis-Alexandre-César Bombet. Paris 1814, p. 247. Stendhal's text appeared in several subsequent editions. The original text by Carpani that Stendhal plagiarised was not faithfully translated into French for another two decades: 'Imaginez-vous une galerie de tableaux, tous differens pour le genre, le sujet et le coloris. Quatre grands tableaux principaux sont places parmi plusieurs autres beaucoup plus petits. On trouve dans la première partie la neige, la glace et les aquilons; dans la seconde, l'orage; dans le troisième, la chasse; et dans la quatrième, la soirée des villageois': Joseph Carpani, Haydn, sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses voyages et ses aventures, trans D. Mondo. Paris 1838, p. 271. Stendhal's text first appeared in English three years after its first French publication: The Life of Haydn in a Series of Letters Written at Vienna ... translated from the French of L. A. C. Bombet. With Notes by the Author of the Sacred Melodies [William Gardiner]. London 1817, p. 290.

[4] Translation from: The Life of Haydn (1817), p. 291.

[5] In particular, two sets of reproductions of Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" published in the first decade of the nineteenth century were influential. See Alida Moltedo, La Sistina Riprodotta: Gli affreschi di Michelangelo dalle stampe del Cnquecento alle campagne fotographiche Anderson. Rome 1991, pp. 179–87.

In fact, exploiting the idea of a picture gallery to suggest the character and aesthetic aims of "Die Jahreszeiten" was no novelty when Carpani drew on it. The author was reprising a point made in a major review of Haydn's score that appeared in 1804, two years after its first publication:

> The overall impression of "Die Jahreszeiten" is of a gallery, a suite of paintings [eine Suite von Gemälden], where varied pictures of natural phenomena are all displayed together for attentive contemplation[6].

Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), the distinguished Berlin-based authority on music who wrote this review, had been in correspondence with Haydn shortly before writing it[7]. The notion that the oratorio was conceived in the manner of a picture gallery made such an impression that Zelter restated it more insistently later in the review to emphasise how he viewed Haydn's approach as a decisive turning point in the development of such compositions:

> We called the present work ... a gallery of pictures, and we see this as *the basis of the entire piece*; we even see it *as the basis of the genre in* which this artistic field is and has to be framed, if *it is to survive and succeed* [emphases added][8].

From this it is clear that the analogy between Haydn's music and picture galleries advanced by Zelter and others was no mere reconfiguration of 'musical painting', a long-established feature of eighteenth-century vocal writing that provoked much critical comment for its extensive use by Haydn in his late oratorios[9]. 'Musical painting' was a separate issue from the one Zelter sought to characterise. It was the very way "Die Jahreszeiten" had been conceptualised that he and others thought worthy of the attention of their readers: the music was gauged by its composer, they submitted, to affect audiences in ways analogous to those of an arrangement of paintings on visitors to a picture gallery. Since both Zelter and Carpani were in contact with Haydn at the time of the oratorio's first performances in Vienna, one possibility accounting for their view of the composition is

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[6] AmZ, VI (1804), col. 515.

[7] For what survives of the correspondence between Zelter and Haydn, see Bartha, pp.436–39.

[8] AmZ, VI (1804), col. 516. Zelter had already used the notion of a collection of pictures in his earlier review of Haydn's "Die Schöpfung", though developed this more fully in the later review of "Die Jahreszeiten": AmZ, IV (1801–02), cols 385–96. Zelter alludes to this in his surviving letter to Haydn. The composer appears to approve Zelter's approach.

[9] For conventional late eighteenth-century definitions of painting in music see, for example, the articles on 'Gemählde in Musik' and 'Mahlerey' in: Johann Georg Sulzer, Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste, ed. Johann Gottfried Dyck and Georg Schaz, 4 vols, Leipzig 1792–94, II, p. 357; III, pp. 356f.

that they drew on first-hand testimony supplied by Haydn himself, or those close to him, of the composer's creative intentions.

A crucial factor here is that the decades leading up to the composition of "Die Jahreszeiten" saw significant developments in the form and function of picture galleries. Distinguished collections of paintings, which hitherto had been essentially the preserve of those with extensive financial means, chiefly aristocrats and their households, now became much more accessible to ordinary members of the public for their scrutiny, delectation and education, a key outcome of Enlightenment thinking.

While the kind of patronage that had supported composers of Haydn's generation early in their careers facilitated direct experience of prestigious private art collections, like the one formed by Haydn's patrons the Princes Esterházy, there was then generally little incentive for composers to engage closely with such collections. Conditions, however, during the second half of Haydn's career arguably encouraged him and others without the personal means to acquire expensive works of art to pay greater attention to them when opportunities arose. This change is reflected in publications by notable authorities on music, like those of the composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), whose travelogues written in the 1770s essentially ignore visual culture, while those of the early 1800s show considerable interest in experiencing and recording it[10]. Although the gallery in Vienna founded to house the Esterházy collection only opened to the public in 1812, too late for it to have made any impact on Reichardt's travel writings or on the form of "Die Jahreszeiten", by the time Haydn and Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803), the oratorio's librettist, started their work on it recent developments in the conception of picture galleries were a matter of broad cultural interest[11].

THE IMPERIAL PICTURE GALLERY IN VIENNA

A milestone in public accessibility to major art collections was the permanent exhibition of the imperial picture collections in Vienna, an initiative driven by Emperor Joseph II in the late 1770s, one that proved a key attraction for anyone visiting or based in the imperial capital with cultural

[10] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend, 2 vols, Frankfurt, 1776; Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien un den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809, 2 vols, Amsterdam 1810. Haydn owned the first of these publications and features prominently in the second.

[11] [Joseph Fischer,] Catalog der Gemählde-Gallerie des durchlauchtigen Fürsten Esterhazy von Galantha, zu Laxenburg bei Wien. Vienna 1812.

aspirations[12]. The palace of the Upper Belvedere was selected as the new home of the collection that opened to the public in 1781, the year that Mozart settled in Vienna. The Emperor commissioned an erstwhile friend of the Mozart family, the Basle-based engraver and publisher Chrétien de Mechel, to organise the hanging of the pictures and to prepare a catalogue of the collection for public information, a publication welcomed throughout Europe[13]. Mechel's catalogue shows that he arranged the pictures using broad art historical criteria (i.e. by 'school' and in broad chronological order) rather than relying solely on aesthetic criteria, a pioneering instance of criteria still practised today[14].

Occasionally Mechel took art historical liberties in displaying the pictures to the public. For example, he grouped together four paintings by the leading sixteenth-century painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder, about which little was then known, displaying them on the same wall in one of the rooms devoted to Netherlandish painting on the second floor of the Belvedere. As the catalogue entry for them shows, Mechel labelled them collectively "Die vier Jahreszeiten" in the German edition and "Les quatres Saisons" in the French edition, implying that each picture represents a season[15]. But as Mechel certainly knew, this was a fiction. The pictures neither originally belonged together in this way, nor did a single one of these paintings represent any of the four seasons as understood in his own time[16]. Mechel

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[12] Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums. Band I: Die Kaiserliche Galerie im Wiener Belvedere (1776–1837), ed. Gudrun Swoboda, Vienna 2013.

[13] Mechel's catalogue was issued in German and French editions: Christian von Mechel, Verzeichnis der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien, Vienna 1783; Chrétien de Mechel, Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Impériale et royale de Vienne ... d'après l'arrangement ... fait de cette Galerie en 1781 par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur, Basle 1784. For Mechel and the Mozart family, see Thomas Tolley, Developing an Eye for Harmony: Rubens in Mozart's Education, in: Late Eighteenth-Century Music and Visual Culture, ed. Cliff Eisen and Alan Davison, Turnhout 2017, pp. 71–110.

[14] For comment on the art historical significance of this, see Andrew McClellan, Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris, Cambridge 1993, pp. 79ff.

[15] Mechel, Verzeichnis, p. 184, nos 61–64.

[16] Documentation shows that some of the pictures in question came to Vienna after 1594 when the city of Antwerp presented the Austrian Archduke Ernst, Governor of the Netherlands, with six paintings by Breugel collectively representing the twelve months: Ian Buchanan, The Collection of Niclaus Jongelinck: II. The 'Months' by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Burlington Magazine, 132 (1990), pp. 541–50. Although Mechel was probably aware of the integrity of this cycle of six paintings, he chose to ignore it. Only two of Mechel's 'Seasons' were drawn from the series of six paintings: "The Corn Harvest" (now New

devised this aspect of the display to make the paintings in question more intelligible to audiences of the 1780s, a time when sets of representations of four seasons were popular and frequently reproduced[17].

Swieten, then the imperial librarian with responsibility for the Emperor's collections of printed and graphic materials, was himself a key figure promoting moves to engage the public with the wealth of visual culture then in Vienna[18]. As President of the Court Commission on Education until 1791, Swieten played a role in opening up imperial collections to the public. He was also keen to develop throughout society cultural values that had hitherto been the preserve of the aristocracy, as well as persuading the ruling elite that the lives and activities of ordinary people – like the ordinary country people featured in "Die Jahreszeiten" – were worthy of representation and attention. Putting Bruegel's then unfamiliar pictures on public exhibition may be understood as one outcome of this project. Its impact may be traced in the writings of foreign visitors to Vienna, those who made a point of viewing picture galleries and engaging with the arts generally, including music. One visitor, the British diarist Mrs Hester Thrale Piozzi, who toured Austria in 1786, reflects something of the new cultural attitude in Vienna when she wrote soon afterwards, with characteristic haughtiness, that "The patient German is seen in all they shew us from the painting of Brughuel [sic] to the music of Haydn"[19]. Mrs Piozzi evidently

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York, Metropolitan Museum), which Mechel called 'Summer'; and "The Return of the Herd" (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), which he called 'Autumn'. Interestingly, one of the original six paintings "Haymaking" (now Prague, National Gallery), one that Mechel chose not to display, entered the collection of Princess Leopoldine Grassalkovich, daughter of Prince Anton Esterházy nominally Haydn's patron when he was in England, perhaps on the occasion of her marriage in 1793. This provides an important indication that Bruegel's art was directly relevant to the cultural context in which Haydn worked on permanently returning to Vienna from London. Mechel made up his set of 'Seasons' using two paintings by Breugel neither of which appear to have come from any series: "Children's Games", which he called 'Spring' and "The Massacre of the Innocents", which he called 'Winter' (both Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Why Mechel ignored more suitable paintings drawn from those given to Archduke Ernst for his series, such as "Hunters in the Snow" (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), very suitable for 'Winter', is unclear.

[17] Mechel's arrangement of the Bruegels echoed, for instance, a more coherent set of 'Four Seasons' by Lukas van Valkenborch (1535–1597), a late follower of Breugel, hung in an adjoining room. Mechel, Verzeichnis, p. 181, nos. 41–44.

[18] Ernst Wangermann, Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens, 1781–1791, Vienna 1978.

[19] Hester Lynch Piozzi, Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany, 2 vols, London 1789, II, p. 276. For eighteenth-century readers a painter called Breugel is as likely to refer to Jan Breughel the Younger as to

saw Breugel's paintings. Moreover, she included Eszterház on her itinerary so that she could say she had "heard Hayden [sic]"[20]. Whether she meant by this the man, his music, or both is unclear.

Piozzi was not alone in associating Bruegel with Haydn. When Swieten fashioned a libretto for Haydn based on James Thomson's popular poem "The Seasons" (originally written in four separate parts between 1726 and 1730), he offered suggestions to the composer on how to manage the settings, some of which call to mind Bruegel's paintings[21]. For instance, for the final number in "Der Herbst" depicting the merry-making of the country people (No. 16b[22]), Swieten advised Haydn to represent compositionally various distinct kinds of music-making – he stipulates pipes, drums, fiddle, hurdy-gurdy, and bagpipes – not sequentially, but simultaneously, each with their own distinctive rhythms and tunes, arguing that what he called the 'Contratempi' should be "useful in suggesting the varied placings of the instruments"[23]. Swieten essentially envisaged a scene out of Breugel, with many activities depicted within the same scene, though essentially independent from each other, as in the Breugel picture that Mechel called 'Der Frühling', known today as "Children's Games"[24]. Significantly, Haydn ignored Swieten's advice in this respect, suggesting the composer did not share Swieten's vision, rooted as it was in late eighteenth-century Viennese experience.

While Haydn relied on Swieten to furnish him with a suitable libretto (one that time demonstrated was less than satisfactory), the composer's personal inspiration for the initial aesthetic impulse underpinning the work, it is

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his grandfather Pieter Bruegel the Elder. However, the context of Piozzi's reference tends to suggest she had the elder Breugel in mind. For her account of the Imperial Picture Gallery, see Piozzi, Observations, II, pp. 293f.

[20] Piozzi, Observations, II, pp. 290f. The plan to visit to Eszterház was aborted through illness.

[21] Several translations into German of "The Seasons" were available by 1800: Bernhard Fabian, The English Book in Eighteenth-Century Germany, London 1991, pp. 14, 18, 62. Swieten made use of a parallel text edition published in 1745: Landon V, p. 95.

[22] Since publications of Haydn's "Die Jahreszeiten" employ various numbering systems (or none) for items in the oratorio, this essay makes use of the one in the edition of the score published in the Complete Edition, Joseph Haydn Werke, Reihe XXVIII, Band 4, 2 Teilbände, ed. Armin Raab.

[23] For the text of Swieten's advice to Haydn on setting "Die Jahreszeiten", see H.C. Robbins Landon, The Creation and The Seasons: The Complete Authentic Sources for the Word-Books, Cardiff 1985, pp. 192f.

[24] All the instruments Swieten mentions may be seen in Bruegel's pictures from the imperial collection.

here submitted, actually came from his involvement with exhibitions of paintings only available to Haydn during his visits to London. These were like nothing he had encountered previously.

HAYDN'S PRINT COLLECTION AS EVIDENCE OF EXHIBITION ATTENDANCE

There is no question that Haydn visited and took a keen interest in the new commercial galleries that emerged in London during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Though quite distinct in their aims and economic premise, such galleries represent a parallel to the opening of the Imperial Picture Gallery in Vienna in the sense that they came into being to satisfy a growing public appetite for viewing paintings by leading artists.

This type of gallery model depended in part on income generated by charging an entrance fee for viewing an exhibition of pictures, which needed to appeal directly to the public in order to succeed. They took off in the late 1780s, a few years before Haydn's visits to London. The earliest was "The Shakspeare Gallery [sic]" founded in 1787 by John Boydell, whom Haydn encountered during his first visit to London when Boydell was Lord Mayor of London[25].

Proprietors of these new-style galleries also published prints, the sale of which contributed considerably to their income. Boydell was the most successful of these, with a longstanding international reputation in this field[26]. Establishments like Boydell's sold prints after the paintings on view, allowing visitors either to subscribe to them as they were published, or to leave the galleries with reminders of what they had seen for subsequent viewing at their leisure. By comparison with original paintings, prints were inexpensive, though they still represented the major income stream for proprietor-publishers because of the volume of their sales, at least during the period Haydn was in London. Created by engravers whose skills during this period were as much admired as the artists of the original paintings, such prints were often considered works of art in their own right[27].

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[25] Winifred Friedman, Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, New York 1976; Rosie Dias, Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic, New Haven 2013. For Haydn's acquaintance with Boydell, see Thomas Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn, c. 1750 to c. 1810, Aldershot 2001, pp. 227f.

[26] Sven Bruntjen, John Boydell, 1719–1804: A Study of Art Patronage and Publishing in Georgian England, New York 1985.

[27] The best-informed overview of print-making in London during the period considered here is Timothy Clayton, The English Print, 1688–1802, New Haven 1997. See also David

The primary evidence for Haydn's interest in this form of commercialised graphic art comes from his own collection of prints, known today from an inventory drawn up after the composer's death in 1809 to facilitate the disposal of his estate[28]. According to this, some of Haydn's prints were framed and hung on the walls of his Gumpendorf home; but the majority were kept in a large portfolio. Separate portfolios kept specialised series of images[29]. For most prints the compiler of the inventory recorded, where possible, their titles and the names of the original artists and the engravers, information that allows the prints in the collection to be identified with certainty. Although the actual prints Haydn owned cannot be traced today, their appearance is known from surviving impressions.

A glance at any page of the inventory of Haydn's print collection shows numerous words in English, one indication that an overwhelming majority of the prints was published in London. For the most part the dates when the prints were issued, generally recorded on copies that survive (as required by English copyright law), fall during the period that Haydn was in London, or shortly before, showing that Haydn probably acquired most of these prints during his visits to London, and those that interested him the most were those most recently published.

Although the inventory records no publication details, identifying the publishers of the prints from captions on surviving impressions of those Haydn owned permits a reconstruction of a significant aspect of the composer's leisure activities, one where he opted to spend part of his spare time at exhibition venues. Contemporary guides to recreational pursuits for upstanding Germans particularly recommend print collecting[30]. In taking

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Alexander, The Evolution of the Print Market and Its Impact on the Art Market, 1780–1820, in: London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, ed. Susanna Avery-Quach and Christian Huemer, Los Angeles 2019, pp. 118–30, at p. 122 for Park and Green.

[28] This inventory survives in two near-identical original copies. For an account of these and the text of the inventory, see Landon V, pp. 390–93.

[29] For preliminary assessments of Haydn's collection, see: Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 207–57; Otto Biba, Joseph Haydn: Kunst-Freund, -Kenner und -Sammler, Musikblätter der Wiener Philharmoniker, 63/9 (2009), pp. 337–50; Otto Biba, Joseph Haydn: Der Kunstsammler, in: Joseph Haydn im 21. Jahrhundert. Bericht über das Symposium der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der Internationalen Joseph Haydn Privatstiftung Eisenstadt und der Esterházy Privatstiftung vom 14. bis 17. Oktober 2009 in Wien und Eisenstadt. In Gedenken an Gerhard J. Winkler, ed. Gernot Gruber, Christine Siegert and Walter Reicher, (EHB 8) Tutzing 2013, pp. 75–95.

[30] For example, Anna Luise Karshin recommended print collecting over a range of other pastimes in a series of verses published in Launeburger Genealogische-Calendar for 1781 with illustrations by Daniel Chodowiecki, in: Antony Griffiths and Frances Carey,

this advice seriously when he was in England Haydn probably found in it a means of familiarising himself with English aesthetic goals and arguably a source of inspiration. Not unexpectedly, most of the galleries in question were either a short distance from places where he stayed or from venues where his latest compositions were performed.

LUDWIG GUTTENBRUNN AT 21 BEDFORD STREET AND LATER AT 4 LITTLE MADDOX STREET

The very first page of Haydn's inventory provides a good example of how this works[31]. One entry reads (in the original document) "Lady Elizabeth Lambert von Guttenbrunn", words that the inventory compiler copied from the actual print in Haydn's collection. The entry reveals the subject of the image – Lady Elizabeth Jane Lambert, daughter of the sixth Earl of Cavan (d. 1830) – and the artist in question – Ludwig (also Luigi, Louis, and Lewis) Guttenbrunn (1750–1819).

Surviving impressions of this very print (Fig. 1) show a portrait of an attractive and innocent-looking young woman, the sitter named in the inscription. Lady Elizabeth was a celebrated teenage beauty. In 1792 she found herself in a court of law protecting her honour in a celebrated case of slander, something that generated considerable interest in her person as well as her appearance, a curiosity Guttenbrunn sought to satisfy[32]. Haydn is likely to have followed the case in newspaper reports[33]. Further words beneath Guttenbrunn's portrait print of Lady Elizabeth indicate that he was not only the original painter of Lady Elizabeth's portrait (now untraced),

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German Printmaking in the Age of Goethe, London 1994, pp. 62f., no. 24. For moderately-priced recommendations for German print collectors in the 1770s, see Anne-Marie Link, Carl Ludwig Junker and the Collecting of Reproductive Prints, Print Quarterly, 12 (1995), pp. 361–74.

[31] Reference here to "first page" of the inventory is to the original manuscript documentation, which the author has consulted. Individual items are referenced in this essay using the published edition: Landon V, pp. 390–93.

[32] For details of the case, compiled from press reports, see: Four Thousand Pounds Damages. The Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Lambert (Daughter of the late Earl of Cavan) against Richard Tattersall, Horse-Dealer, and Proprietor of the Morning-Post, for a Libel, In which her Ladyship is charged with Unchastity, in eloping with her Footman, Tried before the Right Honourable Lloyd Lord Kenyon, and a Special Jury, at Westminster, On Monday, July 9 1792. London 1792.

[33] For Lady Elizabeth Lambert's celebrity and how the composer followed the progress of such cases in the press, see Thomas Tolley, Divorce a la mode: The Schwellenberg Affair and Haydn's Engagements with English Caricature, Music in Art, XLII (2017), pp. 9–42, especially at p. 24.

Figure 1: Ludwig Guttenbrunn, "Lady Elizabeth Lambert" (London: L. Guttenbrunn, 25 October 1792). Stipple. Oval image 16.4 x 15.3 cm. Dublin, National Library of Ireland, PD LAMB-EL (1) III. All rights reserved.

he was also both its engraver and its publisher, an unusual arrangement though one that maximised the artist's profit from the sale of the print[34].

[34] In the engraving Guttenbrunn uses the term 'pinx[it]' to indicate that the original image was painted not drawn. Generally, in late eighteenth-century London portrait paint-

Guttenbrunn was a longstanding Austrian acquaintance of Haydn, both men having been in service to the Esterházy family twenty years before Lady Elizabeth's court appearance[35]. In 1772, however, the painter received princely permission to travel to Italy, where he opted to remain. In Rome Guttenbrunn studied with the prominent portrait painter Anton Raphael Mengs, (1728–1779) whose international clientele perhaps encouraged the Austrian to consider the benefits of seeking the patronage of northern European aristocrats on the Grand Tour[36]. His self-portrait executed in 1782 on becoming a member of the painters' academy in Florence was subsequently twice engraved, a token of esteem for Guttenbrunn as a personality in addition to his merits as a painter[37]. On the recommendation of royal patrons in Turin, Guttenbrunn travelled to Paris in 1787, accepting commissions to paint portraits of members of the reigning family. The leading reproductive engraver in Paris, Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) mentions in his journal a visit at this time from Guttenbrunn, noting that the latter had begun a portrait of Madame Élisabeth, Louis XVI's younger sister, and was expected to paint portraits of both the King and the Queen[38]. This contact with Wille is one indication that the Austrian took the opportunity when in Paris to inform himself about the business of reproductive print-making, an art that was barely established in Austria at the time Guttenbrunn left for Italy, but one that he now seems to have recognised had potential for developing his own career[39]. As the portrait of Lady Elizabeth Lambert demonstrates, Guttenbrunn had learned reproductive engraving sufficiently well by the time he was in England to practise it professionally, something that Haydn found time to engage with.

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ers and publishers employed trained engravers to reproduce their pictures, painting and engraving being considered separate professions.

[35] There is no standard or modern account of Guttenbrunn. For an overview of his career with some sources, see Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (gen. eds), Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, 37 vols, Leipzig 1907–50, XV, pp. 360f.

[36] Andrea Busiri Vici, Su un pittor austriaco a Roma nel Settecento: Ludwig Guttenbrunn, Studi Romani, 24 (1976), pp. 524–29.

[37] For Guttenbrunn's self-portrait, see Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale, ed. Luciano Berti, Florence 1979, p. 893, no. A439. One of the prints of Guttenbrunn's self-portrait was designed by Carlo Bozzolini and engraved by Giovanni Rovelli. The other was probably engraved by Carlo Lasinio as one of a series of prints reproducing the collection of self-portraits in Florence, for which see: Fabia Borroni Salvadori, Carlo Lasinio e gli autoriatratti di Galleria, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, 28 (1984), pp. 109–32.

[38] Mémoires et Journal de J.-G. Wille, graveur du roi, ed. Georges Duplessis, 2 vols, Paris 1857, II, pp. 159, 176.

[39] The print of Guttenbrunn's portrait of his patron Prince Nicolaus I Esterházy was engraved in 1771 by Carl von Pechwell, one indication that at that time Guttenbrunn had not acquired any skills in engraving.

At the outbreak of the Revolution in France, like others whose nationality or status connected with Queen Marie-Antoinette Guttenbrunn left for the British capital, where his reputation preceded him[40]. In 1791 he reencountered Haydn, who noted him twice in journals written during the period 1791–1792, citing Guttenbrunn as painter of one of four portraits made of the composer during this visit[41]. The work in question may be identified as the "Portrait of a celebrated composer of music" by "Guttenbrun [sic]" that was exhibited at the annual Royal Academy exhibition that opened on 26 April 1791, less than four months after Haydn first arrived in London[42]. Guttenbrunn probably achieved this exhibited likeness of Haydn not through sittings from the composer in 1791 – during the period leading up to the hanging of the exhibition, which started on 5 April, Haydn's busy schedule left little time for sittings necessary to achieve such a portrait[43] – but by creating a new version of a likeness already painted when both men had been together at Eszterház two decades earlier, a work then unknown to London audiences[44]. This was flattering to the composer because it represented him to the exhibition-visiting public as a man younger than he was at the time. It was also advantageous to the painter since it presented an opportunity for him to extend his own reputation by association with the most acclaimed foreign visitor of the moment, one who had long enjoyed the reputation in London as "the first composer in the world"[45].

As his exhibited portrait of Lady Elizabeth Lambert suggests, Guttenbrunn advanced his career in London by exhibiting and publishing portraits of personalities in the public eye, especially those with a reputation for beauty who were the subject of salacious notices in the press. Another example is Lady Elizabeth's friend the actress Mrs Bateman, whose published

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[40] At least two British publications mention Guttenbrunn before he established himself in London: A New Review with Literary Curiosities and Literary Intelligence, ed. Henry Maty, Vol VII (1785), p. 286; The Artist's Repository and Drawing Magazine, exhibiting the Principles of the Polite Arts in their Various Branches Vol. IV, London n.d. [c. 1790]), p. 130.

[41] Bartha, pp. 503, 513.

[42] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXCI, The Twenty-Third, London 1791, no. 61.

[43] The process of hanging the exhibition began on 5 April (when all pictures would have been ready for showing), as reported in: The Public Advertiser 4 April 1791. For a documented account of Haydn's activities during this period, see Landon, III, pp. 21–161.

[44] For an account of Guttenbrunn's two portraits of Haydn, see Lázló Somfai, Joseph Haydn: His Life in Contemporary Pictures, London 1969, pp. 213f., nos 8a, 8b; Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 169ff.

[45] European Magazine, 2 (1782), p. 15.

likeness by Guttenbrunn was advertised for sale in May 1793[46]. Whenever possible Guttenbrunn also made use of portraits originally created before he came to London, suggesting he kept copies (perhaps drawings) that might be reproduced if circumstances proved advantageous, as was probably the case with his portrait of Haydn. A further example of this that provides further insights into his working method is his likeness of Marie-Antoinette. On the very day that the Queen was executed Guttenbrunn published a likeness purporting to be of the Austrian princess, captioned "Marie-Antoinette Queen of France, Engraved by L. Guttenbrunn after an Original Drawing taken from Life by Himself. London Pub. as the Act directs October 16 1793"[47]. This engraving was a response to the Queen's tragic circumstances, not to her execution, which had yet to be reported in London. But following her demise he satisfied growing public interest in her fate in London by exhibiting at his own premises a painted portrait of the deceased Queen, "taken from life in the year 1789"[48].

The case of Guttenbrunn's portrait of General Pasquale Paoli (1725–1807) provides further evidence of the artist's approach. This anglophile Corsican patriot was well known in London through a popular account of his freedom-fighting activities by James Boswell, the book that established this well-known author's reputation[49]. Guttenbrunn's well-characterised likeness of Paoli, evidently executed some time before he came to England, was among the first pictures the artist showed at the Royal Academy in 1790[50]. As with his portrait of Haydn exhibited the following year, Guttenbrunn seized an opportunity to put on public view an earlier likeness because the sitter in question was in the public eye at the time of the exhibition, helping to create an audience for the artist's work in a fiercely competitive field[51].

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[46] Gazette & New Daily Advertiser, 6 May 1793. This print was available from the publisher's establishment at No. 207 Piccadilly. For Mrs Bateman, see Tolley, Divorce a la mode, pp. 23f.

[47] Impression in Bibliothèque nationale de France, no. P.18333.

[48] Morning Chronicle, April 14, 1794. The painting in question may be related to, or perhaps identical with a portrait by Guttenbrunn purporting to be of the Queen dated 1788 now in the Fondazione Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, Gorizia. Another work by Guttenbrunn in the same collection portrays two of the Queen's children.

[49] James Boswell, An Account of Corsica, The Journal of a Tour to that Island; And Memoirs of Pascal Paoli, 1st ed., London 1768.

[50] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXC, The Twenty-Second, London 1790, no. 62. The original painted portrait cannot be traced. The engraving was published by Colnaghi, London, on 15 October 1795.

[51] For an account of the commercial aspects of portrait painting in London at this date, see Marcia Pointon, Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation, New Haven

Guttenbrunn's painted portrait of Lady Elizabeth Lambert was shown at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1792, a year after the same artist's portrait of Haydn was exhibited at the same venue, and two years after that of Paoli was shown[52]. Another portrait of Lady Elizabeth (now untraced) had already been shown at the 1791 exhibition, so there was a comparative measure for viewers, including perhaps Haydn, to form an opinion of the one by Guttenbrunn[53].

In 1792 Guttenbrunn also exhibited two portraits (neither traceable today) of Austrian sitters both personally known to Haydn: one of "Countess Thunn [i.e Thun], of Vienna"; the other of "Princess Lignouzky [Lichnowsky], of Vienna"[54]. This Countess Thun may reasonably be identified with Maria Wilhemina, neé Uhlfeld (1734–1800), a recipient from Haydn of a manuscript copy of his oratorio "Il ritorno di Tobia", and later a subscriber to "Die Schöpfung"[55]. She was a leading supporter of both Mozart and Beethoven. Princess Lichnowsky was evidently Maria Christiane (1765–1841), one of the Countess's three daughters, famed for their beauty. Her husband, Prince Lichnowsky (1761–1814) was another leading patron of Mozart and Beethoven. The fact that Haydn's inventory shows he owned a portrait of the Prince suggests that the older composer was probably likewise associated with Lichnowsky's patronage[56]. The Prince and the Princess were married in November 1788. Given that the Royal Academy in 1792 displayed Guttenbrunn's lost portrait of Maria Christiane with the title "Princess", her portrait and by implication that of her mother were presented as though they were recent works in line with expectations. However, Guttenbrunn was in Paris at the time of the wedding and subsequently only in London. No evidence has come to light to suggest that

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1993. In 1790 Boswell's biography of Dr Johnson (d. 1784) was anticipated, a work that might readily have been predicted (correctly) to contain first-hand accounts of the subject's close relations with Paoli during the period the General spent in exile in London: James Boswell, The Life of Dr Johnson, 2 vols, London 1791, I, pp. 310, 314ff., 364 II, p. 144 passim.

[52] Cat. No. 186 "Portrait of a lady of quality". The identity of the sitter as Lady Elizabeth Lambert comes from contemporary manuscript notes on identifications made in surviving catalogues: Algernon Graves, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Works from Its Foundations in 1769 to 1904, 8 vols, London 1905–1906, III, p. 340.

[53] Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Second (1790), no. 293: "Lady E. Lambert (as a Vestal) [by] Shelley". This portrait was commended in the press: Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, 3 May 1791.

[54] Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Third (1791), nos 84 and 85.

[55] For this information, see Landon IV, pp. 25f.

[56] A portrait of Lichnowsky features on Haydn's inventory: Landon V, p. 393, no. 64. Landon demonstrates several connections with the Prince: Landon IV, p. 25.

the Countess or the Princess were in either city between 1788 and 1792. It seems probable, therefore, that the portraits Guttenbrunn exhibited in London were in fact developed from earlier likenesses of the Countess and her daughter, a further indication that the portrait of Haydn exhibited in 1791 was likewise derived from an earlier image[57].

The 1792 Royal Academy catalogue also lists another likeness of Haydn, this one the well-known portrait of the composer by Thomas Hardy (London, Royal Academy of Music), placed on public exhibition in London within a year of that by Guttenbrunn in the very same venue[58]. Haydn therefore probably saw the painted version of Guttenbrunn's portrait of Lady Elizabeth in the Spring of 1792, when it is safe to assume, he attended the same exhibition to view his own portrait, an image in which he had made a personal investment having then recently given the painter sittings in order to create it.

Hardy's portrait of Haydn, as well as another by the same artist of the celebrated violinist Johann Peter Salomon, the violinist-impresario who succeeded in bringing Haydn to London, were both commissioned by John Bland, one of Haydn's London publishers[59]. Like Hardy's portrait of Haydn, the one of Salomon was exhibited in the 1792 Royal Academy exhibition[60]. Both the artist, Hardy, and the publisher, Bland, used the public exhibition as a vehicle for promoting their commercial interests, building on the public interest in Haydn and his reputation at the time.

Bland and Hardy lost little time in issuing prints reproducing their portraits of both Haydn and Salomon, whose fame was immortalised by his success in bringing Haydn to London and by his commission of a series of symphonies, which were performed in concert seasons that coincided closely with the duration of the exhibition[61]. In fact, though Bland pub-

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[57] These portraits are untraced. No evidence has come to light that they were ever reproduced.

[58] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXCII The Twenty-Fourth, London 1792, no. 368 ("Portrait of Haydn [by] W.T. Hardy"). Alan Davison, Thomas Hardy's Portrait of Joseph Haydn: A Study in the Conventions of Late Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture, Music in Art, XXXIII (2008), pp. 101–11; Alan Davison, The Face of a Musical Genius: Thomas Hardy's Portrait of Joseph Haydn, Eighteenth-Century Music, 6 (2009), pp. 209–27.

[59] Alan Davison, Collecting Musical Prints in late Eighteenth-Century England: Taste, Self-Improvement and John Bland's "Portrait Series", Music in Art, XLI (2016), 203–13.

[60] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXCII The Twenty-Fourth, London 1792, nos. 3.

[61] Although Salomon had many claims to fame, it was his association with Haydn that secured his reputation, as the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey demon-

lished Salomon's portrait later the same year – Haydn kept an impression of it in his collection[62] – the equivalent portrait of Haydn was issued on 13 February 1792, even before the painted version had gone on public view, contrary to customary practice[63]. Since London-based print-makers generally gauged whether there was any commercial potential in creating a print of a painting from the impact it made during its public exhibition, the unconventional issuing of the print of Hardy's portrait of Haydn *before* the painting had been shown publicly is a clear measure not only of Haydn's celebrity at the time, but also of his personal relevance to the London art world. In this there is likely to have been competition with Guttenbrunn, whose portrait of Haydn exhibited at the same venue the previous year was engraved by Luigi Schiavonetti and published on 17 February 1792 (Fig. 2), just four days after the one issued by Bland[64]. Hardy, who uncharacteristically engraved his own portrait of Haydn, evidently worked swiftly in order to score a coup over a commercial rival.

Although Haydn in all likelihood saw Guttenbrunn's portrait of Lady Elizabeth Lambert at the 1792 Royal Academy exhibition, he cannot have acquired his impression of her portrait until *after* he returned to London for his second visit in 1794 because Guttenbrunn's print of the celebrated beauty was only published in October 1792, when the composer was in Vienna between his two London visits[65]. Guttenbrunn probably determined the impact of his painted portrait of Lady Elizabeth from its exhibition and then created the printed version of it, having confirmed its commercial feasibility. It seems likely that the painted portrait made such an impact on the composer that he held it in his memory until an opportunity arose to acquire the print following his return to London. Haydn is therefore an excellent example of the kind of print collector Guttenbrunn was aiming

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strates: "Johann Peter Salomon Musician Born 1745 Died 1815. He brought Haydn to England in 1791 and 1794".

[62] Landon V, p. 392, no. 19. Although this item reads merely "Salomon", it is undoubtedly the one published by Bland because the previous entries in the inventory list others in the same series: Dussek, Pleyel and Cramer.

[63] The printed version of Bland's portrait of Haydn is inscribed: "Printed & Engraved by T. Hardy/ Joseph Haydn, Mus.D Oxon/ From an Original Picture in the Possession of J. Bland./ London Publish'd as the Act directs February 13, 1792 by J. Bland No. 45 Holborn". Salomon's equivalent portrait is inscribed "[Painted by] Hardy Facius Sculp[si]t/ J.P. Salomon/ From an Original Picture in the Possession of J. Bland/ London Publish'd as the Act directs, December 21, 1792, by J. Bland No. 45 Holborn".

[64] Guttenbrunn's portrait of Haydn was engraved by Luigi Schiavonetti, who came to London from Bassano in 1790.

[65] The publication line on Guttenbrunn's print of Lady Elizabeth Lambert reads: "London Published as the Act directs October 25 1792 by L. Guttenbrunn".

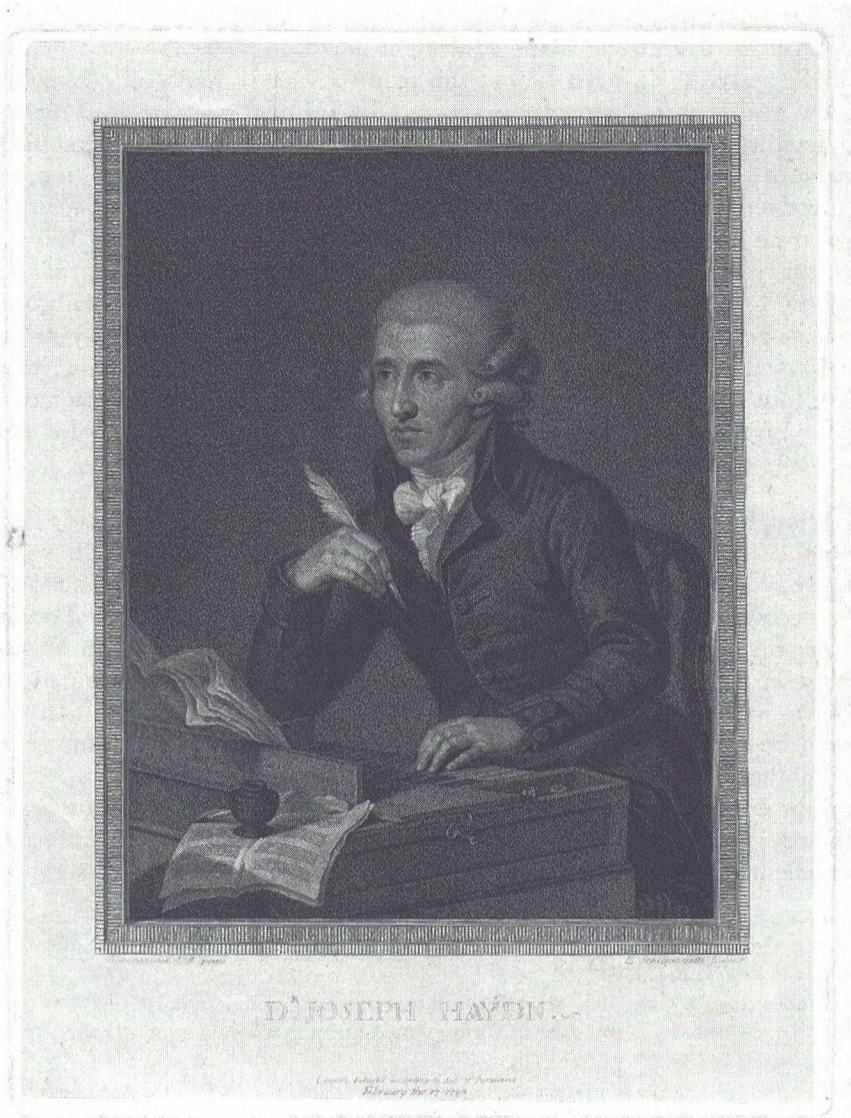

Figure 2: Luigi Schiavonetti, after Ludwig Guttenbrunn, "Dr. Joseph Haydn" (London: 17 February 1792). Stipple with etching, 35 x 26.6 cm. London, British Museum, 1841,1113.68. The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

to attract through his venture. The intriguing circumstances of Lady Elizabeth's celebrity were clearly a factor in this. From Haydn's point of view, it would have been satisfying that while Guttenbrunn gauged the viability of a print of Lady Elizabeth's portrait only *after* the painted portrait had been exhibited, the print of the portrait of the composer by Hardy was published anticipating its exhibition. Haydn's celebrity was of an order well beyond that of Lady Elizabeth.

Haydn's "Lady Elizabeth Lambert" was in fact one of a number of prints the composer acquired of works by Guttenbrunn, all of them published during the period they were both in London and recorded in the inventory drawn up following his death. Among these were two prints, conceived as a pair, both representing much admired Old Master paintings then in prominent collections in Rome. Although this pair appears in consecutive entries in Haydn's inventory with no mention of Guttenbrunn – the inventory records only their titles, the names of the original painters and the names of their engravers[66] – inscriptions on surviving impressions explain that both prints were engraved from copies made by Guttenbrunn when he had been in Rome (see Fig. 3), a further instance of the artist exploiting in London works created earlier in his career[67]. The items acquired by Haydn were first advertised in the London press in March 1792:

> Two Prints, Now published after two famous Pictures at Rome. One[,] The Persian Sibylla, painted by Guercino; the other Herodias, by Guido Rheni [Reni], both engraved by Messrs. Facius. Published by Mr. Guttenbrunn, No. 21, Bedford-Street, Covent-Garden. Price 7s 6d each[68].

The actual date of publication, 11 February 1792, appears on some surviving impressions. There is, of course, no way of determining when Haydn acquired these prints. However, one possible incentive to procure them close to publication is that Salomon and probably Haydn had personal connections with Georg Siegmund Facius and Johann Gottlieb Facius, the brothers who engraved these prints. Since the name 'Facius', representing either or both brothers, also appears as engraver on the print of Hardy's portrait of Salomon, they were responsible for this also.

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[66] The prints are listed in Haydn's inventory as: "[No.] 11 The persian Sybille nach Guercino und [No.] 12 die Herodias nach Guido Reni, beide von Facius". Landon V, p. 392.
[67] The "Herodias" features the inscription "Painted by L. Guttenbrunn after the Original Picture of Guido Reni, in the Palace of Prince Corsini at Rome". On the "The Persian Sibyl" is "Painted by L. Guttenbrunn after the Original Picture of Guercino, in the Gallery of the Compidoglio at Rome".
[68] Morning Herald, 6 March 1792.

Figure 3: Georg Siegmund Facius and Johann Gottlieb Facius, after Ludwig Guttenbrunn, after Guercino, "The Persian Sibyl" (London: Guttenbrunn, 11 February 1792). Stipple, 49.1 x 35.3 cm. London, British Museum, 1917,1208.733. The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

By this time both Facius brothers had worked successfully for London publishers, especially Boydell. But their careers as engravers were actually launched in Bonn, where local publishers employed them on a range of projects, including title-pages for music. For example, the elaborate decorated title-page of a set of six accompanied keyboard sonatas by Andrea Lucchesi dedicated to his patron the Elector of Cologne issued in 1772 is inscribed "gravé par G[eorg] S[iegmund] Facius à Bonn"[69]. Lucchesi (1741–1801) was Kapellmeister at Bonn. He therefore features prominently in an important account of musical activities connected with the court at Bonn dated 20 March 1783, well-known because it provides one of the earliest discussions of Beethoven, twelve-years-old at the time[70]. Immediately before describing Beethoven the prodigy, the account provides details of three members of the Facius family, youthful friends of Beethoven and musical brothers of the two who worked as engravers in London. The same account shows that instrumental works by Haydn were systematically collected in Bonn at this time. When Salomon and Haydn, travelling together on their way to England in 1790, stopped in Bonn, Salomon's home city, the Elector ensured that Haydn was properly introduced to leading musicians at the court "to show Haydn persuasive proof of his esteem"[71]. The members of the Facius family whom Haydn met in Bonn are very likely to have informed him of their family members in London, a point of interest for the composer, especially when Salomon was also so closely involved[72].

Guttenbrunn selected his copies of these paintings for engraving by the Facius brothers because he was aware that the original paintings by Guercino and Reni had long been favourites with connoisseurs from the English-speaking world[73]. As a commercially-minded painter, this popularity was important for the success of his London venture. Guttenbrunn's relatively inexpensive published versions introduced these works to a still wid-

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[69] Sei Sonate per il Cembalo con l'accompagnamento di un violin composte e umilmente dedicate a S.A.E.E. Elletor di Colonia da Andrea Luchesi Maestro di Capella di detta S.A.E.E., published at Bonn by Ferdinand Rommerskirchen, printer to the Court: RISM L 2895 (impression at Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek).

[70] Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst, Cramer's Magazin der Musik, 1 (1783), pp. 377–98. This article was written by Neefe, Beethoven's teacher. For translation and discussion, see Thayler's Life of Beethoven, ed. Elliot Forbes, rev. ed., Princeton 1967, pp. 33–37.

[71] Dies, pp. 78f. Translation from Landon II, p. 755.

[72] A third brother, Johann Georg Septimus Facius, also worked in London as a painter of miniature portraits. His name appears in catalogues of Royal Academy exhibitions between 1785 and 1787.

[73] For the popularity of these paintings in the later eighteenth century, see Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 218f.

er audience, one that continued to grow even after he left London. Both prints were reissued on 1 August 1797 by Colnaghi, Sala & Co., a firm that purchased the engravers' plates of a number of works by Guttenbrunn, including Schiavonetti's "Dr. Joseph Haydn", when the painter permanently relocated to St Petersburg in the summer of 1795. Colnaghi's acquisitions from Guttenbrunn also featured *original* pictures by the artist, including the portrait of General Paoli.

Between showing it at the Royal Academy in 1790 and selling it to Colnaghi, Guttenbrunn clearly retained his portrait of Paoli, presumably because it served a useful purpose, on display at his premises, in encouraging potential sitters to commission their own portraits from the Austrian painter. Colnaghi's purchase of the portrait was a shrewd investment. In October 1795 Paoli, having headed a British regime in Corsica for two years, returned to London as a hero in exile, prompting Colnaghi to seize this moment to engrave Guttenbrunn's portrait of the General, an example of the kind of opportunism Guttenbrunn had himself previously practised[74].

According to the inventory of 1809, Haydn acquired one further print reproducing a painting by Guttenbrunn, "Apollo and the Muses"[75]. Although this picture was essentially a barely-concealed reworking of a famous composition by Mengs forming part of the decoration of the Villa Albani in Rome (1761), it achieved a measure of acclaim, even perhaps notoriety. Guttenbrunn first exhibited this picture publicly at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1790, though it seems he had worked on it long before leaving Italy[76]. Haydn, of course, cannot have attended the 1790 exhibition since he was not then in London. How the composer probably became familiar with the painting is clarified in newspaper advertisements, like this one dating from April 1794:

> Mr GUTTENBRUNN's Exhibition of ancient and modern Pictures, No. 4 Little Maddox-Street, Hanover-Square, four doors from New Bond Street, will be open THIS and following days, from 11 till 4, Sundays excepted.
>
> Among the exquisite Performances to be seen in this valuable Collection are two capital original pictures, one painted by Titian, representing a sleeping

[74] The print, published by Colnaghi on 15 October 1795, acknowledges Guttenbrunn as the original painter. It was engraved by Cardon, who regularly worked for Colnaghi. For Paoli and British interest in Corsica, see Elisa A. Carrillo, The Corsican Kingdom of George III, Journal of Modern History, 34 (1962), pp. 254–74.

[75] Landon V, p. 393, no.51.

[76] Guttenbrunn's painting "Apollo and the Nine Muses" cannot presently be traced. It may be identified in an auction at Christie's on 21 February 1930 (Sale of Sir A. Mortimer Singer and other Collections), lot. 81, where the date 1785 was recorded.

> Venus, and the Nativity by Correggio, in all appearance one of the ideas of the famous picture, called La Notte, and preserved in the Dresden Gallery. Among several other pictures painted by Mr Guttenbrunn is the portrait of the late Queen of France [Marie-Antoinette] taken from life, in the year 1789; as is also all his Studies from the most celebrated Italian masters.
>
> There is likewise in the collection the Apollo, with the nine Muses painted by Mr Guttenbrunn now engraving by Messrs Facius. Mr Guttenbrunn has the honour to inform his Subscribers that this Plate will be published about the middle of May next. Further subscriptions will be received in the Exhibition-rooms; at Messrs. Lockarts and Co.'s, Bankers, No. 36 Pall Mall; and Mr. Mollend's, Printseller, No. 76 St. James's-Street; at Mr. Macklins, Fleet-Street, Temple Bar; and at Mr. Walker and Co.'s No. 7, Cornhill, opposite Bank Buildings.
>
> N.B. The Pictures to be disposed of by private contract. Admittance one shilling each[77].

Maddox Street (including the part designated 'Little') was a thoroughfare located a short walk south of the Hanover Square Rooms, where nine of Haydn's twelve London symphonies (Nos 92–101) received their first performances. The location of Guttenbrunn's premises therefore ensured that it was convenient for the composer to visit. Indeed, by drawing attention in this advertisement and in others to 'Hanover-Square' and 'New Bond Street' Guttenbrunn stressed his fashionable situation and how accessible it was to concert-goers. The picture by Titian (also traditionally attributed to Giorgione) and the one by Correggio mentioned in the advertisement were two of the most celebrated paintings in the art historical canon, well-known through descriptions and reproductive prints. Guttenbrunn's notion of charging an entrance fee to see his copies of these paintings was thus a shrewd commercial tactic enabling those without the means to see the originals in Dresden to experience something of their special qualities. The "Studies from the most celebrated Italian masters" that were also on display clearly included Guttenbrunn's originals of the pictures after Guercino and Guido Reni. The circumstances strongly suggest therefore that it was at Guttenbrunn's "Exhibition of ancient and modern Pictures" that Haydn saw these works and chose to purchase his prints after them, including both the painting and the print of "Apollo and the Muses"

The "Messrs Facius" who according to the advertisement Guttenbrunn contracted to engrave his picture "Apollo and the [Nine] Muses", clearly the same brothers who made the engravings after the Guercino and Guido

[77] Morning Chronicle, April 14, 1794 and subsequently.

Reni pictures, were here again a likely factor in the composer making this particular acquisition. The name 'Facius' was specifically recorded in connection with this print in Haydn's inventory of 1809. An entry on 'Guttenbrunn' in an account of painters who had worked in England published in 1808 explains the history of the print, providing some insights into when Haydn is likely to have acquired it:

> ... there is a print after one of [Guttenbrunn's] pictures, engraved in the dotted manner by the brothers Faccius [sic]; the subject, Apollo and The Muses. It is but justice to say that the print gives a very good idea of the picture, which is not a very striking specimen of great powers in the painter. This print was published by himself in 1794. The plate was afterwards sold to Mr. Colnaggi [Colnaghi], and some of the figures were altered by Mr. Bartolozzi. When the print was first finished, most of the heads of the female figures were portraits of Italian ladies then living[78].

Surviving impressions show that Colnaghi, Sala & Co indeed reissued the print on 1 September 1797. Although, as this account indicates, critics saw deficiencies in Guttenbrunn's composition, the scene still had considerable commercial potential, probably because it was believed, and this was probably true, that Guttenbrunn had used likenesses of celebrated women as models for the heads of the muses, a matter of topical interest in London[79]. After this, as the 1808 account states, the leading engraver Francesco Bartolozzi (1727–1815) substantially reworked the plate, presumably in order to give the image a new lease of commercial life. In particular, the pose of Apollo was changed from a standing figure to a more imposing seated figure. In this form the print was reissued on 11 April 1800 acknowledging Guttenbrunn as painter, though with the name 'Facius' removed and replaced by that of Bartolozzi. In this version a Latin inscription was added beneath the image drawing attention to Bartolozzi's contribution, implying a connection between the engraver's skill and Apollo's status among the Muses[80].

The publication history of Guttenbrunn's Apollo print therefore strongly implies that Haydn procured his impression of it, the version by the Facius

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[78] Edward Edwards, Anecdotes of Painters who have resided or been born in England; with Critical Remarks on their Productions, London 1808, p.224.

[79] For evidence of Italian models for the Muses, see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, Il "Segretario di Stato" Francesco Seratti, collezionista di stampe a Firenze, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, 32 (1988), pp. 439–78, at pp. 460f. In London Guttenbrunn issued a series of likenesses of Italian women whose features might be related to the Muses in the Apollo picture.

[80] "Quo Bartollozzum graphio donavit Apollo/ Ille hanc effigiem sculpsit Apollineam."

brothers, between May 1795, when the advertisement indicates it was due for publication, and mid-August of the same year when the composer departed London for the last time.

As had been the case before he left London in 1792, Haydn allowed time between the end of the concert season and final departure for making purchases of this kind[81]. Then, as probably on previous occasions, it seems he visited Guttenbrunn's showroom, selecting what appealed to him from what was available. As another newspaper advertisement explains, in common with most other art exhibitions in London at the time, visitors were charged 1 shilling for admission, a fee Haydn is hardly likely to have resented given the outstanding financial success he then enjoyed.

MACKLIN'S "POETS GALLERY", 39 FLEET STREET

On the second page of the inventory of Haydn's collection, Item 30 reads: "12. Blatt: die 12 Monate, ovale Unterhaltungen nach Hamilton von Bartolozzi und andere [12 Sheets: the 12 Months, oval decorative prints after Hamilton by Bartolozzi and another]"[82]. This set of a dozen prints was designed by the prominent painter William Hamilton and all except two were engraved by Bartolozzi, whose family was on close terms with the composer[83]. An indication that the work of these artists was meaningful to Haydn is the commission they received to execute the frontispiece for Haydn's first collection of Scottish folksong arrangements, published by William Napier in London in 1792, showing "Britannia distributing Laurels to Music and Poetry" (Fig. 4)[84].

The set of representations of the months owned by Haydn reproduced a series of paintings (untraced) owned by another print entrepreneur, the picture dealer and publisher Thomas Macklin (d. 1800)[85]. As Macklin's an-

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[81] Cf. Thomas Tolley, Haydn's "bloody war": A Pictorial Souvenir of Battles with Publishers, "Professionals", and Pleyel in London, 1788–1792, Studia Musicologica, 58 (2017), 15–56, at p. 19.

[82] Landon V, p. 392.

[83] For the Bartolozzi family's close connections with Haydn, see Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 212–16. See also Stephen A. Bergquist, Francesco Bartolozzi's Musical Prints, Music in Art, 32 (2007), pp. 177–87.

[84] A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts, The Harmony by Haydn, Dedicated by Permission to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, London 1792, frontispiece, with inscriptions indicating Hamilton as the designer and Bartolozzi as the engraver. Haydn kept a copy of this in his collection: Landon V, pp. 300 (no. 20), 395 (no. 194).

[85] For Macklin, see: T. S. R. Boase, Macklin and Bowyer, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 26 (1963), pp. 148–77, at pp. 149f.; G. E. Bentley Jr, Thomas Mack-

Figure 4: Francesco Bartolozzi, after William Hamilton, "Britannia distributing Laurels to Music and Poetry, frontispiece to A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts, The Harmony by Haydn, Dedicated by Permission to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York" (London: William Napier, 1792). Etching and engraving, 28.6 x 23.5. Private collection.

nual catalogues indicate, it was at his showrooms at 39 Fleet Street that these paintings were displayed to the public between 1789 and about 1797 when Macklin was obliged to dispose of the paintings in his gallery on account of his firm's insolvency[86]. This gallery specialised in subjects drawn from English poetry – hence its name, 'The Poets' Gallery'. It was among the first galleries to commission paintings by leading artists for display to a paying public and to publish prints after them, an enterprise first announced in 1787. Guttenbrunn's advertisement already quoted, indicating that subscriptions for his "Apollo and the Muses" could be taken out at "Mr. Macklins, Fleet-Street", shows that Macklin was not averse to dealing with other galleries for mutual advantage.

Macklin's prints illustrating poetic subjects were available for sale at the gallery along with others of miscellaneous subjects, like Hamilton's "Months". This activity supplemented the main venture, the exhibition of paintings. A prospectus shows that the principal scheme was originally intended to comprise a hundred paintings to be assembled over several years. Less than half this number had been completed by 1797, when Macklin obtained Parliament's consent to set up a lottery in which the paintings acted as prizes. Since the War with France led to the loss of key export markets for London-based print publishers like Macklin, many were forced to dispose of key assets to recoup their losses, much as did Guttenbrunn a few years' earlier[87].

Only twenty-four prints from the main series, that is the one devoted to poetical subjects issued to subscribers in six instalments – Hamilton's "Months" was a separate, subsidiary venture – were published before the scheme failed. As in other ventures of this kind, an incentive to subscribe was the offer of reduced price. Of the twenty-four prints that were issued Haydn acquired three, all drawn, perhaps coincidently, from the third instalment published on 20 November 1791[88]. However, even excluding

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lin (1752–1800), Picture-Publisher and Patron: Creator of the Macklin Bible (1791–1800), Lampeter 2016. See also two essays in Romanticism and Illustration, ed. Ian Haywood, Susan Matthews and Mary L. Shannon, Cambridge 2019, pp. 271–320: Ian Haywood, Illustration, Terror, and Female Agency: Thomas Macklin's Poets Gallery in a Revolutionary Decade; and Luisa Calè, Maria Cosway's Hours: Cosmopolitan and Classical Visual Culture in Thomas Macklin's Poets Gallery.

[86] E.g. Poetic Description of Choice and Valuable Prints, published by Mr. Macklin, at the Poets' Gallery, Fleet Street. London 1794, pp. 44–49.

[87] For evidence of the effect of the French Revolution and its aftermath on the British print industry, see Ellen G. D'Oench, "Copper into Gold": Prints by John Raphael Smith, 1751–1812, New Haven 1999, p. 141, p. 283, n. 1.

[88] "The Mouse's Petition", by Bunbury engraved by Tomkins; "Marian", by the same artists; "Lodona", by Maria Cosway, engraved by Bartolozzi: Poetic Description of Choice

Hamilton's "Months" Haydn's collection certainly included further prints featured in Macklin's catalogues, possibly more than thirty, showing the extent of the composer's engagement with Macklin's enterprise[89]. Although it is possible that some of these prints were acquired from other sources, or were gifted to Haydn, the overall selection of Macklin prints owned by the composer was so extensive and so arbitrary that it seems clear the composer visited Macklin's establishment in person, viewed the paintings, and chose for purchase the prints he liked. Haydn is known to have visited the premises of music publishers to explore their stock[90]. It appears he did much the same with print sellers.

Sets of prints were expensive undertakings for a publisher. Professional engravers expected to be well remunerated for their work which was time-consuming and required skills then recognised as on a par with those of painters and sculptors. This explains why such series were issued in instalments. In the case of Macklin's "Months", the set was actually issued over a five-year period, the first being "January" depicting a skating scene (Fig. 5), dated 1 April 1788, one of only two prints in the cycle engraved not by Bartolozzi but by William Gardiner, the other being "November". The last of the series to be issued, "February" and "September", were published on 1 October 1793. Beneath each image appear the verses that the picture supposedly illustrates. The correspondences between the scenes and verses are imprecise, one indication that Macklin may have selected the poetry for

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and Valuable Prints (1794), pp. 10–14. These prints appear in Haydn's inventory as items 47 (the first two prints listed as a pair) and 28: Landon V, p. 392f.

[89] "Diva Magdalena", by Correggio engraved by Bartolozzi, and "The Woodman", by Barker engraved by Bartolozzi, are items 33 and 39 in Haydn's inventory: Landon V, pp. 392f. The prints are listed in the 1794 edition of Macklin's catalogue on p. 82 and p. 51 respectively. Items 56 ('2. Unterhaltungen nach Ciprian[i] von Bartolozzi') and 59 ('2. Ovale Kindergruppen von Bartolozzi') of Haydn's inventory may reasonably be identified with "Tragedy" and "Comedy", both 'Painted by G.B. Cipriani, and Engraved by F. Bartolozzi', and 'Cupids at Play. Plate I [and] II Painted G.B. Cipriani, and Engraved by F. Bartolozzi', listed in the 1794 edition of Macklin's catalogue on p. 83 and p. 68 respectively. Haydn possessed a collection of theatrical prints kept separately from the main collection listed under item 609 as '26. Stück gestochene Theaterszenen': Landon V, p. 403. Given Haydn's particular interest in Shakespeare and in the comic artist Henry Bunbury, it seems plausible to identify this particular set of prints with Macklin's edition of scenes from Shakespeare's plays designed by Bunbury. The full case for this identification is presented in: Thomas Tolley, Caricatures by Henry William Bunbury in the Collection of Joseph Haydn, in: The Land of Opportunity: Joseph Haydn and Britain, ed. Richard Chesser and David Wyn Jones, London 2013, pp. 22–58, at pp. 53ff.

[90] For one witness account, see J.B. Trend, R.J.S. Stevens (1757–1837) and his Contemporaries, Music & Letters, 13 (1933), pp. 128–37, at p. 130.

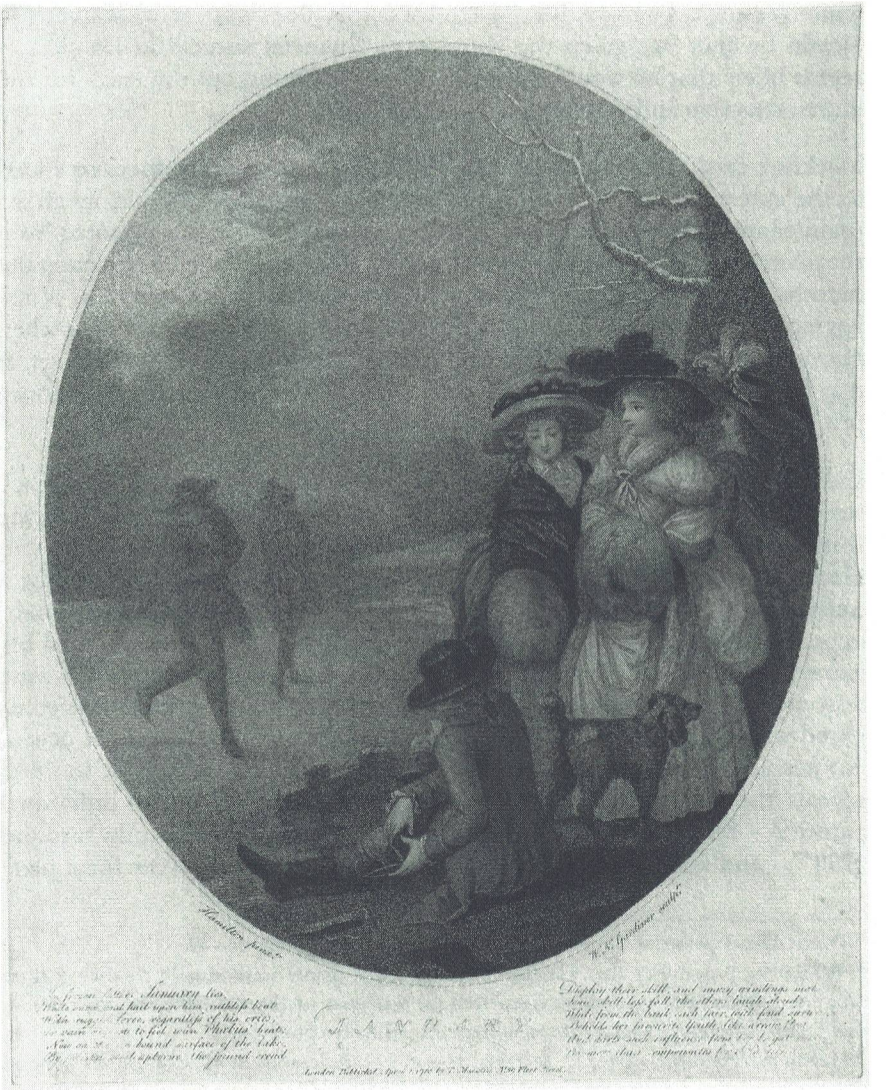

Figure 5: William Gardiner, after William Hamilton, "January" (London: Thomas Macklin, 4 April 1788). Stipple, 35.0 x 27.9 cm. Chicago, Art Institute, 1934.363. Gift of Mrs. Charles Netcher to The Charles Netcher II Memorial Collection.

each scene only after he received the paintings from Hamilton, who may have conceived them with no particular texts in mind. To suit different pockets, the prints were collectively issued in both coloured and black and

white versions. The compiler of the inventory does not say which version Haydn owned. But given the composer's financial success in London, it seems likely that he would not have resented forking out the extra for the more attractive and inspiring colour versions.

Macklin's catalogues for his exhibition document the new productions added to the enterprise annually. Each print was represented by its title, its artists (painter and engraver) and relevant prices, as well as by passages quoted from the poems that appear on the prints to which they relate. The set depicting the months was first listed in its entirety in 1794, the last of the individual prints having been completed and separately issued the previous year, at a time when Haydn was in Vienna not London[91]. Since Haydn owned the whole set, it may be assumed that he acquired them, along with others offered by Macklin prints, at some point during his second visit to London in 1794–95[92].

Each catalogue gives the price of individual prints from the "Months" series: 7s 6d in black and white, and, as with other Macklin prints, twice this price for colour impressions. To put this into context as it relates to Haydn, the composer was advised to charge one guinea in London for a music lesson lasting an hour, a rate that only prestigious musicians might expect[93]. Haydn expressed satisfaction with this since it far exceeded his expectations. He would therefore have needed to give no fewer than nine lessons to cover the outlay for a complete set of colour prints. But compared with the cost of the original paintings, this was a drop in the ocean. An account of the fees Macklin paid published after his death in 1800 reveals that he regularly paid between £100 and £350 for an individual painting – Sir Joshua Reynolds received £500 for a "Holy Family" around 1788[94] – and sometimes at least as much again to an engraver for a plate

[91] Poetic Description of Choice and Valuable Prints (1794), pp. 44–49.

[92] While the possibility that Haydn collected these prints individually following their separate publications cannot be disproved on the basis of the available documentation, this seems inherently unlikely for a collector in Haydn's position.

[93] Haydn recorded the advice he received about fees for lessons in his lost fourth London notebook. His friend Griesinger copied this and used it in his biography of the composer: Bartha, p. 555. When Camille Pleyel, son of one of Haydn's former pupils, was in London in 1815 he wrote to his parents in Paris that at that time only the most celebrated musicians (Kalkbrenner and Ries are named) might charge one guinea for a lesson, suggesting Haydn's remuneration more than two decades earlier was exceptional. Camille could do this also because he had the honour to perform before the Prince Regent, an association that counted: Rita Benton, London Music in 1815, As Seen by Camille Pleyel, Music & Letters, 47 (1966), pp. 34–47, at pp. 36 and 41.

[94] See James Northcote, Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, London 1813, "List of the Historical and fancy Subjects … executed by Sir Joshua Reynolds", unpaginated.

from which a print was to be reproduced. The following quoting from this account, gives examples of the costs incurred in creating four of the prints acquired by Haydn:

> For engraving Mr. Bunbury's drawing of *The Mouses Petition*, By P.W. Tomkins, 300l. [=£300], and for *Marian*, by the same artist 300l. – To Maria Cosway for the very fine picture of *Lodona*, 100l. Bartolozzi for engraving it 250l. ... *The Woodman and his Dog*, painted by Barker, of Bath, 300l. Engraving, by Bartolozzi, 350l[95].

The print-making activities of Macklin and others therefore made affordable the expensive business of pictures for the casual purchaser. As Macklin explained in the preface to his catalogues, expanding the availability of images was one of his principal aims[96]. Perhaps Haydn thought of himself as just such a purchaser. As with the prints the composer acquired from Guttenbrunn, those Haydn procured from Macklin made him a consumer of a distinct kind of popular visual culture that originated in Britain. To ensure the viability of Macklin's business he needed to sell a lot of prints. Haydn was probably drawn to the gallery because when he was in England it was then a major public attraction. Paintings by Hamilton, a fashionable painter of the day, are likely to have contributed significantly to its (initial) success.

As designed by Hamilton, the "Months" proved one of the most popular subjects for graphic art to have originated in the eighteenth century. Within Haydn's lifetime the set was so successful that it was re-engraved in several further formats. For example, an undated set issued by John & Josiah Boydell was perhaps made possible soon after the disposal of Macklin's paintings in 1797. All twelve scenes were re-engraved by Bartolozzi in upright rectangular format[97]. Re-engraving suggests perhaps that by this date the original plates could no longer be relied on to make acceptable impressions though the subject matter remained commercially viable.

Bartolozzi also engraved yet another smaller series of exactly the same subjects in round format, with no publisher recorded[98]. Neither of these

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[95] Monthly Retrospective of the Fine Arts, The Monthly Magazine; or British Register, XI, Part 1 (February 1801), pp. 63f.

[96] Poetic Description of Choice and Valuable Prints (1794), pp. iii–viii. The preface is addressed 'To the Lovers of the Fine Arts'.

[97] For an account of the various states of this series of prints (though incomplete), see Alessandro Baudi de Vesme and Augusto Calabi, Francesco Bartolozzi: Catalogue des Estampes, Milan 1928, cat. nos. 671–682.

[98] An Impression of "May" from this series is in the Dayton C. Miller Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

series features the verses that appear on Macklin's prints, indicating that the relationship between word and image was essentially only relevant to the connection of the series with Macklin's gallery. However, when the prints were pirated abroad, a sure sign of their popular appeal, the desirability of combining the images with texts was recognised. A catalogue of prints offered for sale in 1797 by the Bassano firm of Remondini, which specialized in such piracy, shows that Italian engravers were employed to copy the entire set[99]. Surviving impressions show that, though the scenes were evidently taken directly from Macklin's prints, Remondini substituted verses from Latin texts for those used by Macklin, presumably to make the images, with their views of the English countryside, more accessible to Continental purchasers. For "January", for example, Remondini quoted from Ovid[100]. One measure of the success of these Italian copies is that in 1806 one other Bassano publisher whose business was founded on piracy issued yet another version of the series, this one in oblong rectangular format. This set, the enterprise of the print entrepreneur Antonio Suntach (1744–1828) and his team of able engravers, retained the English verses used by Macklin, showing that the designs were adapted directly from the original prints, not from any of the subsequent versions[101].

There is no doubt that the set owned by Haydn was also the original version, not one of the later derivative versions. The entry recording these prints in the inventory of his collection explicitly says they were in 'oval' format, a description that only matches Macklin's original series. Although Hamilton's paintings are not known to survive, these were probably also in oval format[102]. It was probably the experience of seeing the paintings that

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[99] Catalogo delle stampe in rame e in legno e delle varie carte che si lavorano in Bassano presso la dita Giuseppe Remondini e figlio con i prezzi fissati a moneta veneta, Bassano 1797, p. 15, no. 301. For the Remondini firm, see Anton W. A. Boschloo, The Prints of the Remondinis: An Attempt to Reconstruct an Eighteenth-Century World of Pictures, Amsterdam 1998.

[100] "Fasti", I: 163–4:

Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis:
Principium capiunt Phaebus [sic], et annus idem[.]
[Midwinter is the beginning of the new sun and the end of the old one.
Phoebus and the year take their start form the same point.]

Translation from Ovid, "Fasti", trans. James George Frazer, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1976, p. 13.

[101] For Sunach's activities, see Antonio Suntach: un incisore del Settecento tra Bassano, Roma e l'Europa, exh. cat., Museo Remondini, ed. Giuliana Ericani and Federica Millozzi, Bassano 2012.

[102] What may plausibly be identified as a preliminary drawing by Hamilton for "February" survives, showing the main features of the design in oval format, with the inscription

persuaded Haydn to purchase the prints, a permanent record of the images and of the poetic ideas each encapsulates for his personal use in future. Since versions of Hamilton's basic designs continued to be published as late as the first half of the twentieth century, Haydn's acquisition of the whole set may be understood as symptomatic of an uncanny ability to grasp what was popular in the public sphere, something that was self-evidently a factor in conceiving "Die Jahreszeiten", an oratorio designed to appeal to both aristocratic patrons of the kind who funded the work and its first performances, and also to those at lower end of the social scale, like the country people portrayed within the work itself[103].

Like many of the English prints in Haydn's collection Hamilton's "Months" were of sufficient general interest to be recommended to print collectors in the German press[104]. It is conceivable that Haydn first learned about them through reading such publications when he was in Austria between his two visits to London. But it seems more probable that what inspired him to view the gallery where the pictures were displayed and where the prints were available for purchase was their well-promoted poetic connection – his quest for suitable texts for musical setting and forming ideas for future projects. Since Thomson's "The Seasons" played a significant role in the kind of imagery promoted by Macklin, Haydn's experience of "The Poets' Gallery" arguably had repercussions for selecting subject matter for "Die Jahreszeiten". Texts from Thomson, drawn exclusively from "The Seasons", were illustrated more frequently than any other poet in prints published by Macklin. Thomson's acknowledged imitators, popular at the time, were also prominent in Macklin's productions[105]. Visitors like Haydn could hardly have missed this feature.

Six of the prints of the months Haydn owned feature texts inscribed beneath the images quoted from Thomson's "The Seasons", the very text that under-

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'Feb[ruary]': Huntington Library, San Marino, Object Number 69.68.57. The drawing shows the main elements of the composition, though several details are different, suggesting that the final design had yet to be established when it was made.

[103] Examples of twentieth-century versions of the series include those by: William Jackson Allingham, published by G. J. Howell and Co. in London in 1917; and lithographs by Camilla Luca of New York, dating from the 1930s or later.

[104] For example, "December" and "April", both published on 10 November 1790, were recommended to German print collectors the following year: Neue englische Kupferstiche, Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste, 44/1, Leipzig 1791, p. 153. The following year the same column recommended "The Mouse's Petition", "Marian" and "The Woodman", all acquired by Haydn: Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste, 48/1, Leipzig 1792, p. 155.

[105] Boase, Macklin and Bowyer, pp. 149f.

pins the libretto that Swieten arranged for Haydn's oratorio[106]. It seems not unlikely that viewing these pictures and reading through the accompanying lines represented Haydn's first close engagement with Thomson's poem, arguably opening his imagination to its compositional possibilities.

Several themes depicted in the images found their way into the oratorio, as did some of the actual passages from Thomson's poem quoted on Macklin's prints. "February" (Fig. 6), for example, features the ploughman making furrows (seen in the middle-ground), illustrating the following lines from Thomson's poem quoted on the print:

> Joyous, th'impatient husbandman perceives
> Relenting Nature, and his lusty steers
> Drives from their stalls, to where the well-us'd plough
> Lies in the furrow, loosen'd from the frost,
> There, unrefusing, to the harness'd yoke
> They lend their shoulder, and begin their toil,
> While through the neighbouring field the sower stalks,
> With measured step; and liberal throws the grain
> Into the faithful bosom of the ground.
> The harrow follows harsh, and shuts the scene.

As reworked by Swieten this passage forms the basis for the text of Simon's first aria in "Der Frühling". The choice of this particular episode (from many possibilities in an exceptionally long poem) might arguably have been determined by viewing the print itself. Haydn famously set Swieten's adaptation of these very words reusing the theme from one of his most distinctive works composed in England, the Andante of the "Surprise" symphony. As in his setting of the peasant's merry-making in "Autumn", Haydn here directly contradicted the compositional advice given him by Swieten, who here urged the composer to choose a musical theme from a popular opera of the period (1801). Haydn understandably took exception to this suggestion, taking the view that a popular theme of his own composition would serve equally well[107]. Possibly when composing "Die Jahreszeiten" Haydn recalled the famous theme because he had written it

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[106] The months with texts quoting "The Seasons" are "February", "March", "April", "May", "August", "October" and "December". The earliest published versions of "Die Jahreszeiten" openly acknowledged that the (main) literary source was Thomson's poem. For example, the opening of the title-page of the first publication of Haydn's score, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1802, reads: "Die Jahreszeiten nach Thomson in Musik gesezt von Joseph Haydn". Thomson was probably a selling-point.

[107] Dies, p. 181; Landon V, p. 119.

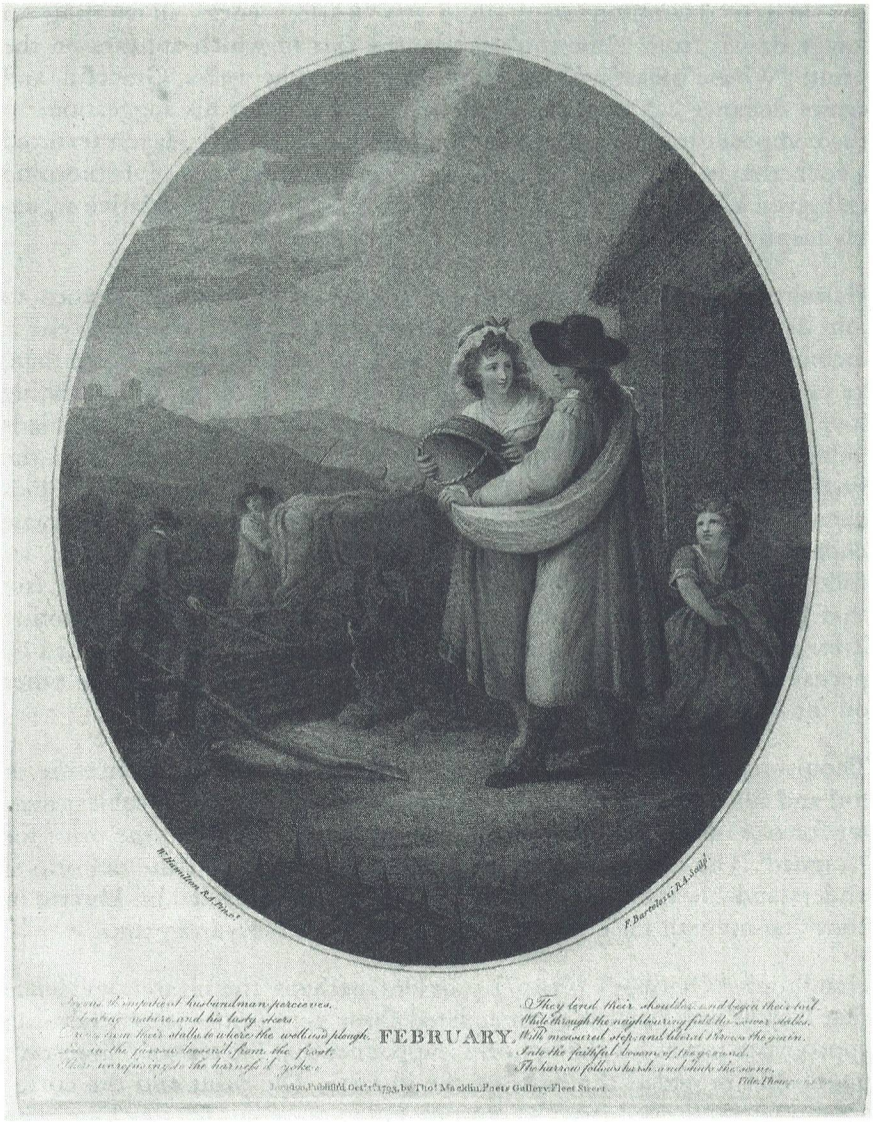

Figure 6: Francesco Bartolozzi, after William Hamilton, "February" (London: Thomas Macklin, 1 October 1793). Stipple, 36.3 x 28.1 cm. Chicago, Art Institute, 1934.364. Gift of Mrs. Charles Netcher to The Charles Netcher II Memorial Collection.

close in time to visiting Macklin's establishment, where it seems likely he first encountered Thomson's poem, at least in one of its visual realisations.

In "March" Hamilton emphasised the 'fearless cock', illustrating an image drawn from Thomson's poem, the text of which appears on the print: "Whose breast with ardour flames, as on he walks, Graceful, and crows defiance". Although neither Swieten's text nor his suggestions to the composer for setting it make any mention of a cock, Haydn featured a cockcrow in "Summer", three unmistakeable imitations of its morning call given appropriately to a solo oboe (No. 6a), a fitting initiative arguably inspired by scrutinising the print in question.

Hamilton's "May" depicts youths coaxing a pair of young women to join dancers at a maypole, seen in the distance. In the print the scene is matched with a quotation from Thomson's poem beginning "Come then, ye virgins and ye youths, whose hearts/Have felt the raptures of refining love". Although Swieten changed the context, an image of girls and lads being drawn away (to slumber rather than to dancing) features in the final number in "Der Sommer", in which a male chorus urges "Mädchen, Bursche, Weiber, kommt [Girl, lad, women, come]", and a female chorus responds, "Wir gehen, wir folgen euch [We come, we come, we follow you]". The idea appears in Thomson's poem, but given the fact that Haydn owned the very print that illustrates this passage, selecting it for inclusion in the oratorio seems likely to have been determined by perusing the print when Haydn and Swieten consulted with each other on the oratorio's content.

Thomson's description of ripening cornfields along with the mixture of toil and fun experienced by the reapers, which provided the subject matter for one of the oratorio's recitatives (No. 8a), appears in the print for "August". The decision to feature this subject matter in the oratorio is understandable assuming, as seems likely, Swieten planned his libretto in consultation with the composer with reference to Haydn's prints.

Hamilton's "October" (Fig. 7) provides perhaps the clearest evidence that Haydn and Swieten contemplated these very prints when choosing appropriate topics for the oratorio, supplementing the text of Thomson's poem that provided the basis of the libretto. The print and the corresponding text quoted from Thomson's poem represent fruit picking. The ripeness of the crop acts as a metaphor for the comeliness of the young women who collect the produce. The equivalent scene depicted by Haydn and Swieten in "Der Herbst" concentrates on nutting, which is also directly out of Thomson's poem. But in Thomson, the nuts are gathered by pulling down branches or shaking a tree. Swieten, however, has a lad climb up a ladder and throw down the fruit. This detail, not found in Thomson's poem, was devised by Hamilton for his print.

Figure 7: Francesco Bartolozzi, after William Hamilton, "October" (London: Thomas Macklin, 30 August 1793). Stipple, 36.3 x 28.1 cm. Chicago, Art Institute, 1934.372. Gift of Mrs. Charles Netcher to The Charles Netcher II Memorial Collection.

Hamilton's "December" shows a festive interior with an open fire, a visual metaphor used unmistakeably for sexual desire. One couple are depicted kissing and embracing beneath a bunch of mistletoe, traditionally hung

during the Yuletide season in English homes to give licence to such intimate affection that in other circumstances might be considered inappropriate. A boy seated in the foreground encourages another more reticent couple to do the same. However, in the text printed beneath the image, quoting Thomson's poem, the kiss is actually a secondary issue. Thomson's main concern in describing this winter gathering is what he calls 'rustic mirth':

> The simple joke that takes the shepherd's heart,
> Easily pleased, the long loud laugh sincere;
> The kiss, snatched hasty from the side-long maid,
> On purpose guardless, or pretending sleep[.]

In the oratorio, Swieten took up Thomson's notion of a joke followed by raucous laughter, brilliantly conveyed in Haydn's setting (No. 20b). Swieten, however, avoided any suggestion that the gathering of country people he devised for the oratorio might engage in kissing, instead using the idea of a kiss, or rather what turns out very properly to be a non-existent kiss, as the focus of the comic story related by Hanne that makes the company laugh[108]. Although the prudish side of Swieten prevented his protagonists from engaging in kissing, contrary to the text he was following, the notion could not be entirely dispensed with, possibly because it was the main feature of Hamilton's corresponding picture. Here again, it may be suggested, the images in Haydn's collection played a role in determining the content of the corresponding oratorio.

JOHN RAPHAEL SMITH AT 31 KING STREET

Haydn owned many further prints published by Macklin, of diverse kinds, ranging from reproductions of Old Master paintings to popular and comic images prevalent at the time. The sheer number of them provide pointers to Haydn's view of what he found worthy of attention.

Some of the prints Macklin published that Haydn owned proved influential in Britain. For example, "The Woodman and His Dog" (Fig. 8), a print engraved in 1792 by Bartolozzi after a painting by Thomas Barker, inspired decoration on English ceramics and in needlework and, on a larger scale, the print was appropriated as a model for tobacconists' signs[109]. Macklin

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[108] "Komm, küsse deinen Herrn!"

[109] Philippa Bishop and Victoria Burnell, The Barkers of Bath, Bath 1986, p. 27; James Ayres, Two Hundred Years of English Naïve Art, 1700–1900, Alexandria, Virginia 1996, p. 131.

Figure 8: Francesco Bartolozzi, after Thomas Barker of Bath, "Woodman and His Dog" (London: Thomas Macklin, 1 June 1792). Stipple and etching, 62.5 x 43.3. London, British Museum, 1941,1011.3. The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

first borrowed, then subsequently purchased Barker's painting because he recognised that the woodman's satisfaction in smoking a pipe, comfort to counteract inhospitable weather, worked admirably to illustrate a passage extolling this hobby in "The Task", a popular poem by William Cowper[110]. When Macklin advertised this print in the press, he referred to "that *celebrated* Picture painted by Barker", an indication that the painting was already a draw for his gallery[111]. The theme of a countryman setting out by foot on a cold day appears twice in "Die Jahreszeiten", once in the depiction of the husbandman in "Der Frühling" (no. 4), and secondly in the representation of the traveller in "Der Winter" (no. 32). Haydn's acquisition of this print, revealing an instinctive identification with what the public responded to most favourably, enabled him to store ideas because they were potentially useful in future projects.

One Macklin print, however, Haydn did 'not' acquire, though he surely noted it, reproduced a famous painting by the Anglo-Swiss artist Henry Fuseli depicting the three witches from Shakespeare's "Macbeth"[112]. Published in 1785, Macklin's print is listed in catalogues for the Poets' Gallery with the title "The Witches" and a relevant quotation from the play[113]. It was engraved by Peltro Williams Tomkins, a competent though unexceptional pupil of Bartolozzi[114]. Haydn's interest in the picture's subject matter, and in Fuseli's approach to it, is evident from his acquisition of a much more refined mezzotint of the same painting created by the much esteemed artist-publisher John Raphael Smith (1751–1812), rather than Tomkins's indifferent reproduction, revealing a conspicuous measure of discrimination in the composer's collecting methods notwithstanding the additional expense this entailed[115]. Smith's superior print, published on 10 March 1785, was entitled "Weird Sisters" (Fig. 9), words that the compiler of Haydn's inventory copied directly from the impression owned by the composer[116].

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[110] Tolley, Caricatures by Henry William Bunbury, pp. 43f.

[111] E.g. The World, 28 July 1792.

[112] This picture, which proved one of the star attractions at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1783, is known in several versions, the main one is now in the Kunsthaus, Zurich: Gert Schiff, Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741–1825, 2 vols, Zurich 1973, I, no. 733; Martin Myrone, Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination, London 2006, pp. 130f., no. 80.

[113] Poetic Description of Choice and Valuable Prints (1794), p. 78.

[114] Peter Raissis, Prints & Drawings: Europe 1500–1900, Sydney 2014, p. 106.

[115] Landon V, p. 393, no. 42: 'The Weird Sisters nach Fuseli von Smith'.

[116] D.H. Weinglass, Prints and Engraved Book Illustrations by and after Henry Fuseli, London 1994, p. 73; Ellen G. D'Oench, "Copper into Gold": Prints by John Raphael Smith, 1751–1812, New Haven 1999, pp. 124–31 (for discussion of the subject matter), p. 256; Deanna Petherbridge, Witches & Wicked Bodies, Edinburgh 2013, p. 95, no. 61.

Figure 9: John Raphael Smith, after Henry Fuseli, "The Weird Sisters" (London: J.R. Smith, 10 March 1785). Mezzotint, 45.8 x 55.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 59.570.361. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959.

Haydn's acquisition of several prints by Smith shows he took a shine to this artist's work. Among those by Smith that the composer acquired, with a record of Smith's name, is a pair of mezzotints listed in Haydn's inventory with the titles "Albina and Eloisa"[117]. Impressions of these prints, presented as a pair, were first offered for sale by their publisher Antonio Cesare Poggi in February 1792 as detailed in the following advertisement, which explains the subject matter:

> Two Prints, from Pope's Eloisa, the other from a Poem by Mr. Jerningham, called Albina. No artist has perhaps so well succeeded in representing the female mind in the dignity of distress as Mr. J.R. Smith has done in the delineation of the Two Prints now offered to the Public. Eloisa is

[117] Landon V, p. 392, no. 27.

drawn in the moment of her writing this memorable line, 'What mean this tumult in a Vestal's veins?' Albina is represented calm and collected, ad bearing the pressure of a degrading event with fortitude. The following Stanzas, which conclude her interesting Story, are inserted at the bottom of the Print. 'I'll not the little pathway tell/ That winds to thy sequester'd scene,/ Where Virtue loves with thee to dwell,/ Remote – unseeing and unseen./Where Resignation takes her stand/ Prompt to perform her friendly part,/ And gathers with a trembling hand/ The fragments of a Broken Heart.' N.B. These prints are sold at 10s. 6d. each, by all the print-sellers in town[118].

The emotional turmoil these two scenes invoke was perhaps a factor for Haydn in obtaining them. But another was probably their poetic context and its musical potential.

At his death Haydn had several writings authored by Pope in his library, suggesting a possible particular affinity with this poet[119]. Haydn is also likely to have known that Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard", the poetic source for one of the prints, had then recently been set as a cantata by Thomas Billington (1754–1832) brother-in-law of Haydn's friend the famous singer Mrs Elizabeth Billington[120]. Since Billington's "Eloisa" proved popular, Haydn may have reflected on it when in search of potential English poetic texts for setting as songs (canzonettas), especially since advertisements openly acknowledged that "This work [Billington's composition] opens with an overture by Haydn ..."[121] Edward Jerningham (1737–1812), whose poem "Albina" was part of a collection published in 1790, probably came to Haydn's attention through his proximity with the poet's cousin Charles Jerningham, a general in the imperial army, who between 1781 and 1791 acted as an intermediary for the composer in his dealings with the London

[118] The Oracle, 24 February 1792. For the publisher, see Camilla Murgia, Transposed Models: The British Career of Antonio Cesare de Poggi (1744–1836), Predella: Journal of Visual Arts, 34 (2014), pp. 173–83.

[119] Haydn owned an edition of Pope's Essay on Man: Maria Hörwarthner, Joseph Haydn's Library: An Attempt at a Literary-Historical Reconstruction, in; Haydn and his World, ed. Elaine Sisman, Princeton, New Jersey 1997, pp. 395–461, no. 76 at p. 434. Several short poems by Pope feature in two volumes of a poetic anthology owned by the composer: Joseph Retzer (ed.), Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces of the Most Eminent English Poets, 6 vols, Vienna 1783–1786: I, pp. 23, 45, 235, 297; and II, pp. 13, 24.

[120] Thomas Billington's "Eloisa to Abelard", published in 1786, was very widely advertised: Michael Kassler, Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710–1818: from Lists Prepared for William Hawes, D.W. Krummel and Alan Tyson, Farnahm 2004, p. 65.

[121] Morning Herald, 24 March 1786. For the popularity of Billington's composition, see Public Advertiser, 16 May 1786.

publisher William Forster. The general also played a role in organising Haydn's first visit to England with Salomon[122].

Haydn may therefore have been drawn to Smith's "Albina" and "Eloisa" through such associations. But having discovered Smith's work, it seems this led him to seek out more prints by the same artist. As the advertisement quoted above explains, "These prints are sold ... by all the print-sellers in town". Haydn might therefore have acquired them at any of more than thirty print shops then in business in London. However, these are the only prints by Smith in Haydn's collection that Smith did not publish himself. All the others, including "Weird Sisters", not only record Smith's name as their publisher on surviving impressions, they also all appear in the only surviving catalogue of prints Smith offered for sale, which includes works he commissioned from other engravers as well as those he himself engraved[123]. This evidence therefore firmly suggests that it was at Smith's own establishment that Haydn saw and selected these prints.

Haydn's inventory records a further eleven prints listed on Smith's catalogue, including one reproducing another striking painting by Fuseli, a nightmarish representation of an episode from Sophocles's "Oedipus at Colonus", made for Smith by an engraver called William Ward. Oedipus is here depicted listening stoically to portents of his own death, a celebrated example of the Sublime, a topic of undoubted interest to Haydn[124].

Like "Weird Sisters", "Oedipus at Colonus" was published in 1785, the same year as another print engraved by Smith in Haydn's collection, "Age and Infancy", after a painting by John Opie depicting an elderly man contemplating a sleeping infant[125]. This correspondence of publication dates opens

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[122] For General Jerningham's role as intermediary for Haydn, see William Sandys and Simon Andrew Forster, The History of the Violin, London 1864, pp. 300–14. The General is recorded as a visitor to Eszterház in 1784: Excursion à Esterhaz en mai 1784, Vienna: Jean Ferdinand Noble de Schönfeld, p. 13. According to reports commenting on Haydn's first visit to England with Salomon, General Jerningham played a role in this: Musikalische Korrespondenz der teutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft, no. 7 (16 February 1791), cols 50f. Poems by Edward Jerningham were well represented in the Viennese anthology of English verse owned by Haydn: Retzer (ed.), Choice, I and II.

[123] Smith's catalogue is reproduced in D'Oench, Copper into Gold, pp. 259–64. It was probably published in 1798.

[124] Landon V, p. 393, no. 48; D'Oench, Copper into Gold, pp. 259–64, no. 100. For the print itself, see Katharina Mayer Haunton Nicholas Stogdon, and Ellen D'Oench, English Mezzotints from the Lennox-Boyd Collection, exh. cat., New York 2002, pp. 142f., no. 64. The original painting is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

[125] Landon V, p. 392, no. 22; D'Oench, Copper into Gold, pp. 259–64, no. 93.

up the possibility that Haydn had actually acquired these particular prints before coming to London. His admiration for English engravings prior to his London trips is recorded in correspondence during the late 1780s[126]. This possibility also applies to a set of six scenes engraved in the stipple technique by Smith – Haydn's inventory calls them "6. Unterhaltungen nach Morland von Smith" – representing the story of a young woman, Laetitia, seduced by a dissolute aristocrat though eventually redeemed, a series created by the painter George Morland (c.1762–1804). This set, which met with "a most unprecedented sale" and like Hamilton's "Months" was sufficiently popular abroad to warrant piracy, was first published on 1 January 1789, exactly two years before Haydn arrived in Britain[127]. The narrative of seduction happily resolved perhaps provided the inspiration for the tale Hanne narrates to entertain the winter gathering in "Die Jahreszeiten" (no. 20b), a story that Haydn and Swieten had to agree on since it does not appear in Thomson's poem[128].

While the possibility that Haydn had already acquired these prints before coming to London cannot be disproved, it seems more likely that he obtained them at much the same time as his remaining prints published by Smith. Since these were all issued in 1793 or later this can hardly have been before the composer's second trip to Britain. For example, a pair of prints recorded on Haydn's inventory – "2. Unterhaltungen nach Westall von Hogg" – may confidently be identified with two atmospheric scenes from plays by Shakespeare executed by Richard Westall (1765–1836) and engraved by James Hogg (fl. 1785–93), impressions of which bear the date 1 January 1793[129]. Only one of these two, an episode from Act 4 of "Hamlet "inscribed with verses beginning "He is dead and gone, lady", features in Smith's catalogue[130]. The other, a scene from Act 2 of "Twelfth Night" inscribed with lines from the ballad "O mistress mine where are you roaming?", may not have been included on Smith's catalogue because inscriptions on both prints show that the pair was jointly published by Smith and Hogg, an arrangement that may have led to them agreeing to market one

[126] Letter to the publisher Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf of 5 April 1789: Bartha, p. 203, no. 119.

[127] For these prints, see D'Oench, Copper into Gold, pp. 259–64, nos 300 a–f. For their unprecedented popularity, see Francis William Blagdon, Authentic Memoirs of the Late George Morland, London 1806, p. 7. For an instance of piracy of the set, see Catalogo delle stampe … Giuseppe Remondini e figlio (1797), p. 15, no. 307.

[128] Cf. Landon V, p. 110.

[129] Idem, p. 392, no. 38. Hogg only engraved two items by Westall so the identification is certain.

[130] [J.R Smith] A Catalogue of Prints, p. 7, no. 264.

each. Profitability, however, was increased by selling them as a pair, which as the date, design and dimensions they have in common demonstrate is certainly how they were conceived, and how Haydn encountered them. Also published by Smith early in 1793 was a second pair of prints, these illustrating two magical scenes from Milton's "Comus"[131]. Haydn's inventory records their titles in full, so the identifications are certain[132].

Not all the prints published and engraved by Smith that Haydn owned were listed in the engraver's catalogue. A set described in Haydn's inventory as "4. Thierstücke nach Morland von Smith" may be identified as a series of four representations of various animals by Morland (numbered 1–4), first published by Smith on 1 August 1794[133]. The four paintings Smith here reproduced were among thirty-six works selected for publication (over several years) from over sixty paintings forming part of an exhibition of Morlands that opened at Smith's establishment at 31 King Street, Covent Garden in the Spring of 1793[134].

As the "Laetitia" series demonstrates, Morland was enormously in vogue during the period Haydn was in London, something that the composer evidently noted. In April 1792, for example, the artist-entrepreneur Daniel Orme informed "Amateurs of Morland's paintings" of the opening of "The Morland Gallery No 14 Old Bond-Street", where "Chef d'OEuvres of his Pencil" might be viewed, and where "All the Prints from the Works of Morland" were available[135]. Orme's Morland Gallery closed permanently little over a year later, not long after Smith's Morland exhibition opened. However, although the catalogue of Orme's exhibition and his auction at Christie's on 8 June 1793 of outstanding stock suggests that the exhibition at the Morland Gallery was large, it was actually neither as extensive nor as

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[131] Painted by Thomas Stothard; engraved by Edmund Scott; published 7 February 1793: see Tolley, Painting the Cannon's Roar, pp. 232ff.

[132] Landon V, p. 392, no. 35.

[133] Idem, p. 392, no. 24. The prints in question have the titles: "Watering the Cart Horse"; "Cat and Dog"; "Rubbing down the Post Horse"; "Fighting Dogs". For details, see D'Oench, Copper into Gold, p. 232, nos 325–28.

[134] [J.R. Smith,] A Descriptive Catalogue of Thirty-Six Pictures Painted by George Morland dedicated with Permission to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and patronized by many of the Royal Family. They are to be engraved by Subscription, by and under the direction of J.R. Smith, At whose House, No. 31, King's-Street, Covent Garden, the Pictures are now on Exhibition, from Eleven till Four o'clock each Day (n.p. [J.R. Smith]; n.d. [1793]).

[135] The Times, 6 April 1792, and in other papers. Daniel Orme, A Catalogue of a Superb Selection of Paintings, Exhibiting by Mess. Orme & Co. at the Morland Gallery, exhibition catalogue, London 1793[?].

prestigious at Smith's[136]. All the evidence indicates that it was when viewing this exhibition at Smith's premises that Haydn acquired not only his set of four animal prints but in all likelihood all the other prints he possessed published by Smith. Here in Covent Garden he would again have paid one shilling as an entrance fee, something that entitled him to a catalogue and the pleasure of viewing the original paintings.

Although the pictures by Morland that Smith exhibited could not have coincided with any displayed in Orme's exhibition, there was nonetheless a measure of overlap that possibly sheds light on Haydn's interest. One of the four animal prints the composer acquired, published by Smith with the title "Rubbing down the Post Horse" (Fig. 10), shows precisely the same composition as a drawing by Morland (dated 1792) shown at Orme's exhibition, which Orme engraved and published in 1793. The popularity of this design is attested from the fact that both the Orme version and that of Smith (owned by Haydn) were reissued in 1799[137]. Orme's Morland Gallery was very close to the venue where Haydn's symphonies given during the 1792 season were performed. There therefore exists the possibility that Haydn saw Orme's Morland exhibition, remembered the picture in question, and subsequently seized the opportunity to acquire it along with others Smith matched with it during his second visit to London, when Smith's Morland exhibition remained on view. By the time Haydn returned to Vienna in 1795 the set had been reviewed in the German press, where they were recommended as in "Morland's well known rustic [ländlichen] style"[138].

Each of these "Thierstücke", however, is no mere portrait, but shows each creature interacting either with another animal, or with a human. The artist's ability to capture convincingly each animal's reaction in rarely-observed encounters was understood to be part of their appeal. Writing in 1806, for example, one of Morland's earliest biographers described "Rubbing down the Post Horse" thus:

> An animated representation of life. The spirited drawing of the figure wisping the sides of the animal, and the first of the blood-horses, were perhaps never excelled. The animals' form is correspondent with its feeling.

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[136] See Christie's advertisement for the "Celebrated Morland Gallery" in: True Briton, 3 June 1793.

[137] Daniel Orme's "Horse and Ostler", after George Morland, was sold and published on 1 May 1793 by D. Orme & Co. at the Morland Gallery, 14. Old Bond Street. It was republished by Orme at his premises in Conduit Street on 1 January 1799.

[138] Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste, 54, Pt 1 (Leipzig, 1795), p. 373.

Figure 10: John Raphael Smith, after George Morland, No. 3 "Rubbing down the Post Horse" (London: J.R. Smith, 1 August 1794). Mezzotint, 32.7 x 37.8. London, British Museum, 1873,0510.2633. The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

> The swollen nostril, starting eye, open mouth, and lifted leg, all denote its sensation. There is a unison in this, as in most of Mr. Morland's works (where spirit is required); it may … be called motion …[139]

The description of the same picture in Smith's catalogue noted similar qualities, along with a blunt, unexpected comic observation that perhaps appealed to Haydn:

> Rubbing down the Post Horse. Though this title may be strictly consonant to the vocabulary of the stable, there are those who might call it *rubbing up the*

[139] J. Hassell, Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Morland with Critical and Descriptive Observations on the whole of his Works, London 1806, p. 50. Hassell provided equivalent comments on two of the other prints in the set: pp. 50, 77.

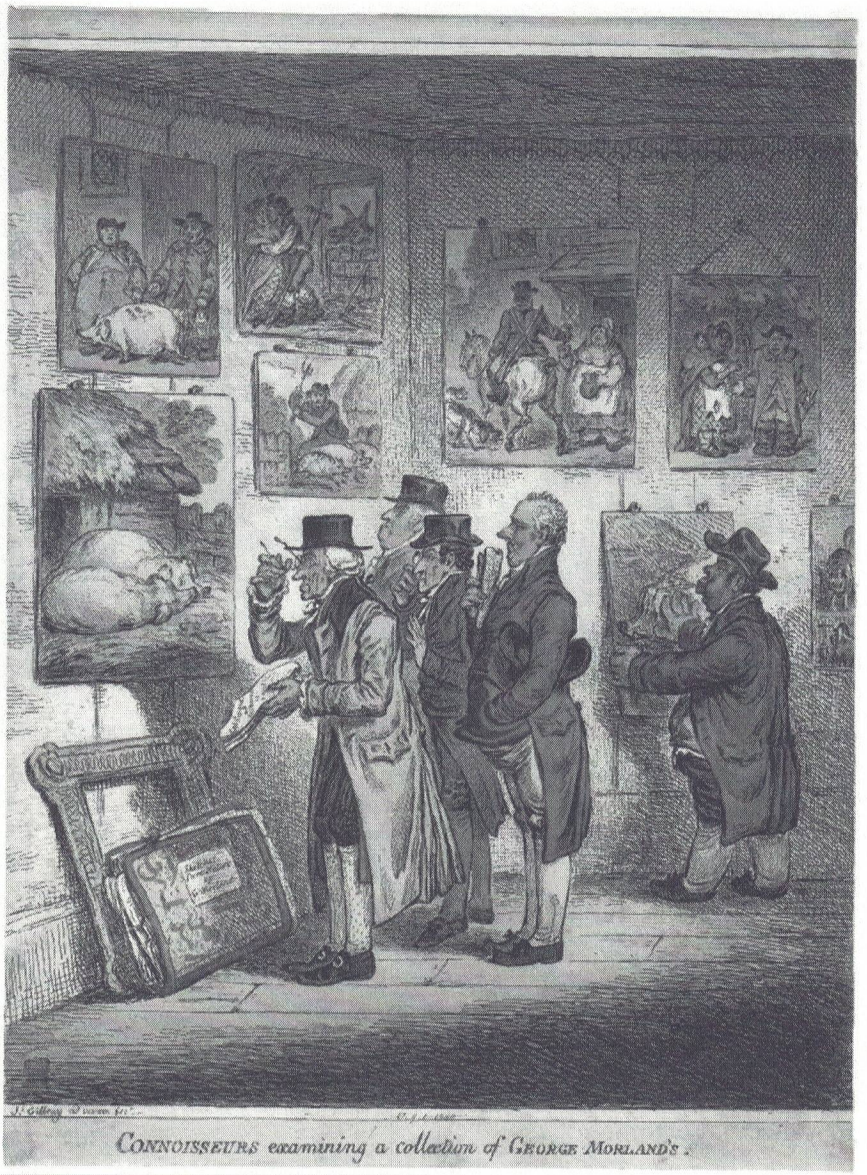

Figure 11: James Gillray, "Connoisseurs examining a Collection of George Morland's" (London: Hannah Humphrey, 16 November 1807). Etching and aquatint, 36.0 x 26.6. London, British Museum, 1851,0901.1240. The Trustees of the British Museum.

> *Post Horse.* Be that as it may, every, the most minute action that constitutes and belongs to the character, is introduced into this picture: –– the horse hangs back, –– the tail is twitched in; all the limbs are highly agitated, and every motion is just. The Artist must have seen what he so accurately delineates, and seen it with *the eye of a painter,* capable of catching a momentary action, and transferring it to his canvas with a fidelity only equalled by its spirit[140].

Although Haydn the wit may have picked up on what Smith (or whoever authored the text) construed a humorous aspect of the picture's subject matter (vulgarly playing with its title), the main appeal of these animal prints to the composer was surely the painter's ability to capture visually key characteristics of the creatures, including their movement and their sounds, something that Haydn so effectively recreated in his music for both "Die Schöpfung" and "Die Jahreszeiten". As he toured Smith's exhibition, viewing numerous depictions of animals by Morland, reproductions of some of which he took away with him, he surely reflected not only on the individual scenes, but also on the collective effect of seeing so many pictures together, something that he successfully recreated musically in his last oratorio, which commentators recognised as his own 'picture gallery'.

The effect of viewing so many Morlands together made such an impression in England at the time that it became a target for satire. "Connoisseurs examining a collection of George Morland's [sic]" (Fig. 11), a print by James Gillray (c.1756–1815) the best-known caricaturist of the period, provides a mocking commentary on the contemporary taste for depictions of rural life, a genre hitherto generally considered a decidedly lowly form of painting. By 1807, the date of the print, such paintings were enjoying a yet greater measure of prestige than when Haydn had been in London because farmers, who naturally favoured such depictions scenes, were one of the rare groups in society at the time who benefited from the Napoleonic Wars and therefore, at least in theory, had the means to make purchases. Depictions of animals, a modest sort of painting, had traditionally been dismissed by connoisseurs, those who thought they understood the real business of art. Others, including Haydn, may have thought differently.

HAYDN IN MRS HUMFREYS'S SHOP WINDOW, 18 OLD BOND STREET

Gillray's selection of paintings by Morland as a basis for ridicule is of course a sure sign of their popularity – at least with growing audiences stemming from the lower social ranks. Here again, popularity provides one

[140] Descriptive Catalogue of Thirty-Six Pictures painted by George Morland, p. 8.

Figure 12: James Gillray, "Wierd Sisters: Ministers of Darkness: Minions of the Moon" (London: Hannah Humphreys, 23 December 1791). Etching and aquatint, 25.0 x 35.0. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. B1981.25.853.

explanation why such works interested Haydn, providing him with a key criterion for selecting prints for his collection. In view of this, other prints Haydn chose for his collection were unsurprisingly also satirised by Gillray. One example is "Wierd [sic] Sisters: Ministers of Darkness: Minions of the Moon" (published on 23 December 1791) (Fig. 12), a commentary on the nature of government at the time of publication, which is an obvious parody of Smith's print after Fuseli, "The Weird Sisters" (Fig.9)[141]. Another is Gillray's "The Accusing Spirit which flew up to Heaven Chancery with the Oath" (8 April 1791), which overtly mocks a particular kind of picture infused with religious sentiment by the painter Matthew Peters, to whom Gillray dedicated his caricature "without permission"[142]. Haydn owned just such a print after Peters, almost certainly acquired during his first visit to

[141] Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum [by Frederick G Stephens, vols I–IV, and Mary Dorothy George, vols V–XI (London: British Museum, 1870–1954), no. 7937 (References to prints in the British Museum catalogue are hereafter cited as BMC followed by the catalogue number.); Richard Godfrey, James Gillray: The Art of Caricature, London 2001, no. 144.
[142] For Peters' original and Gillray's parody, see Clayton, English Print, pp. 248, 251, 286.

London in the shop of its publisher, William Dickinson, from whom the composer acquired several items[143].

Dickinson's shop, which went out of business in 1793, was located in New Bond Street, not far from where Haydn performed at the Hanover Square Rooms, and just a short distance from the print shop in Old Bond Street owned by Gillray's patron, Mrs Hannah Humphreys, who in 1791 became the caricaturist's exclusive publisher. The proximity of these shops meant that it was very easy for prospective customers to compare items – original prints and caricature parodies – which on first publication were usually displayed in shop windows, gauged to catch the eye of passing pedestrians.

As Haydn probably knew, Gillray, widely recognised at the time as the most incisive of graphic satirists, had early in his career worked in the shop of William Napier, a publisher with whom Haydn had extensive dealings during his first visit to London[144]. Nonetheless, no caricature by Gillray features in the inventory of Haydn's collection. There is, however, persuasive evidence the composer looked at Gillray caricatures like those just mentioned, viewing them in shop windows. Mrs Humphreys' business was based on publishing and selling caricatures. A rare exception to this was her portrait of Haydn, a print engraved by Bartolozzi after a miniature by a painter called A.M. Ott, which she published on 4 April 1791 (Fig. 13), the first image of Haydn to appear in England following the composer's arrival in London, earlier even than either of the prints reproducing the portraits by Guttenbrunn and Hardy[145]. The print made an immediate impact. By May it was on sale in several shops in Paris with the commendation that it was also available "chez Humphrey, N° 18, old Bond Street"[146].

Judging from his own comments in his journal, Haydn made himself available as a sitter for this portrait, which Mrs Humphreys appears to have commissioned[147]. In participating in this venture Haydn was taking an enormous risk.

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[143] Landon V, p. 393, no. 44: "The Resurrection of a pious Family nach Peters von Bartolozzi"; cf. no. 45, which lists another print by the same artists without specifying its title. For details of Haydn's prints from Dickinson, see Thomas Tolley, Haydn's "bloody war", pp. 16–20.

[144] Philip H. Highfield, Kalman A. Burnim, ad Edward A. Langhans, Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800 16 vols, Carbondale 1973–1993, X, p. 412.

[145] Ott's miniature is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna: [H.C. Robbins Landon] Haydn News 1996, HJB/HYB XX (1996), pp. 59, 66.

[146] Notice for "Portrait de M. Haydn, célèbre Compositeur de musique, grave de Bartolozzi, a'après le tableau de M. Ott", in: Journal de Paris, 11 May 1791, p. 528.

[147] For Haydn's mention of Ott as painter of the portrait, see Bartha, pp. 503, 513.

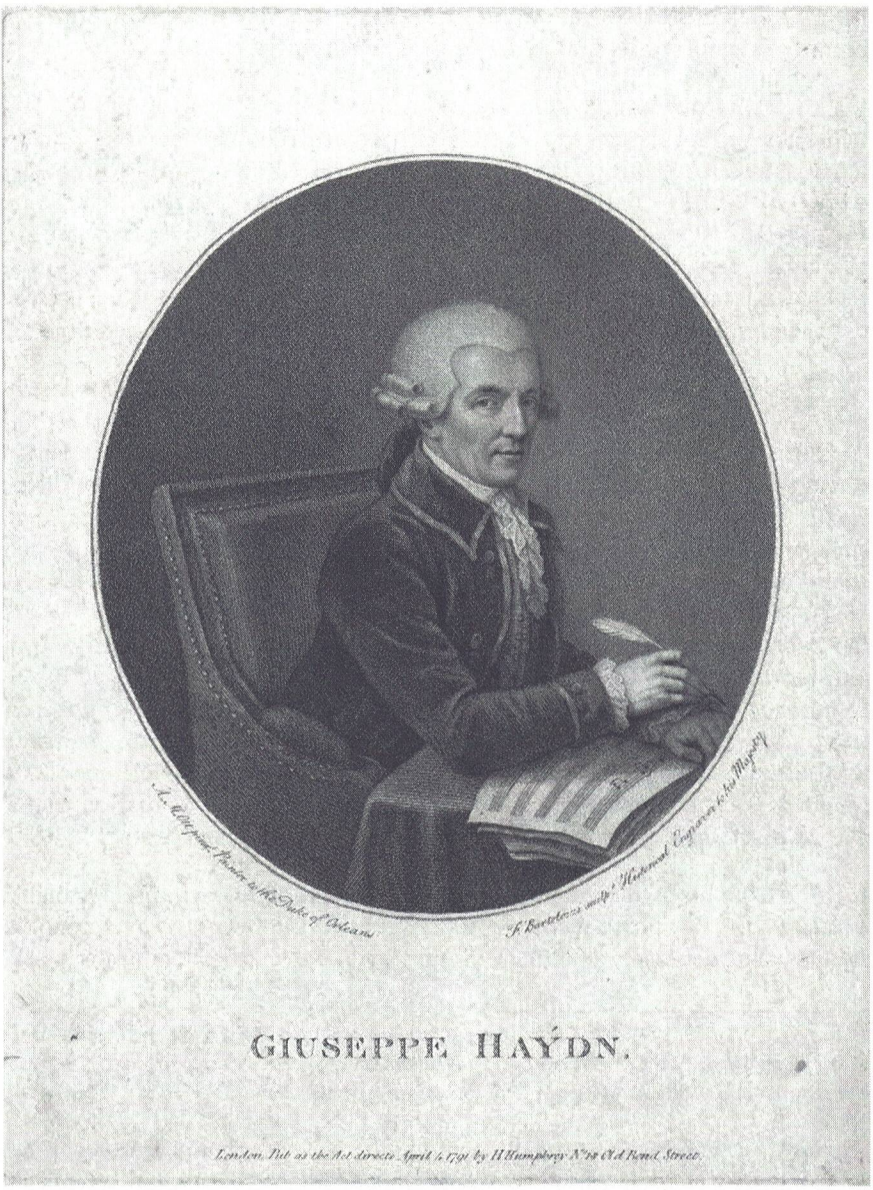

Figure 13: Francesco Bartolozzi after A.M. Ott, "Giuseppe Haydn" (London: Hannah Humphrey, 4 April 1791). Etching and stipple, 25.2 x 18.9 cm. London, British Museum, 1868,0808.2371. The Trustees of the British Museum.

Since it was the practice for print sellers in the later eighteenth century to display their latest publications in shop windows, it seems very likely that Mrs Humphrey's print of the composer – she entitled it "Giuseppe Haydn" – would have been displayed in her window, where she could be confident that Haydn's status at the time as London's most celebrated visitor would have attracted purchasers. So topical was the business of viewing the windows of caricature shops at this time that it gave rise to a whole genre of prints showing precisely this, images that help to recreate how this particular portrait of Haydn would have appeared. For example, Carrington Bowles's mezzotint "A Real Scene in St. Pauls Church Yard, on a Windy Day" (Fig. 14), of about 1783, features portrait prints, similar in form to Mrs Humphreys's "Giuseppe Haydn", in the midst of a sequence of caricatures, suggesting that viewers took in both kinds of print at the same time[148]. In the case of Mrs Humphrey's window in April 1791, however, there would have been just one portrait, Haydn's, which is likely to have been entirely surrounded by caricatures, works designed to make their audiences laugh. This extraordinary arrangement clearly had implications for the way Haydn was perceived in London early during his first visit to the British capital, when some press reports attempted to discredit him by implying his creative powers were not what they once had been.

Since window shopping was a compelling pastime, extolled by foreign observers, it became fashionable for those featured in satires to view themselves in shop windows, with predictably mixed reactions[149]. As prints that satirise this very practice indicate, some were delighted by the honour of appearing in this way, though others were appalled, even when likenesses were truthful[150]. Although no documentation testifies to Haydn viewing himself in this way, it seems unlikely he could have avoided it given that he appears to have been complicit in its creation. Haydn later told one of his biographers that none of the portraits of him published in London met his

[148] BMC, no. 6352; Diana Donald, The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III, New Haven 1996, pp. 27f., pl. 30.

[149] For foreign visitors viewing caricatures in the windows of London print shops, see [Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz,] Annalen der Brittischen Geschichte des Jahrs 1789, 3 (1790), pp. 189f. For commentary on this, see Christiane Banerji and Diane Donald, Gillray observered: The Earliest Account of his Caricatures in London and Paris, Cambridge 1999, pp. 22, 26, 204.

[150] For examples of such prints, see: Caricature Curiosity Pl. II by George Moutard Woodward (published 1806 by William Holland); The Caricaturist's Apology by 'Giles Grinagain' [pseud.] (published 1802 by S. Howitt). Both caricatures are in the Library of Congress, Washington. For discussion and illustration, see Richard Godfrey, English Caricature, 1620 to the Present, London 1984, p. 35, no. 16, p. II; Donald, Age of Caricature, pp. 15f., pl. 17.

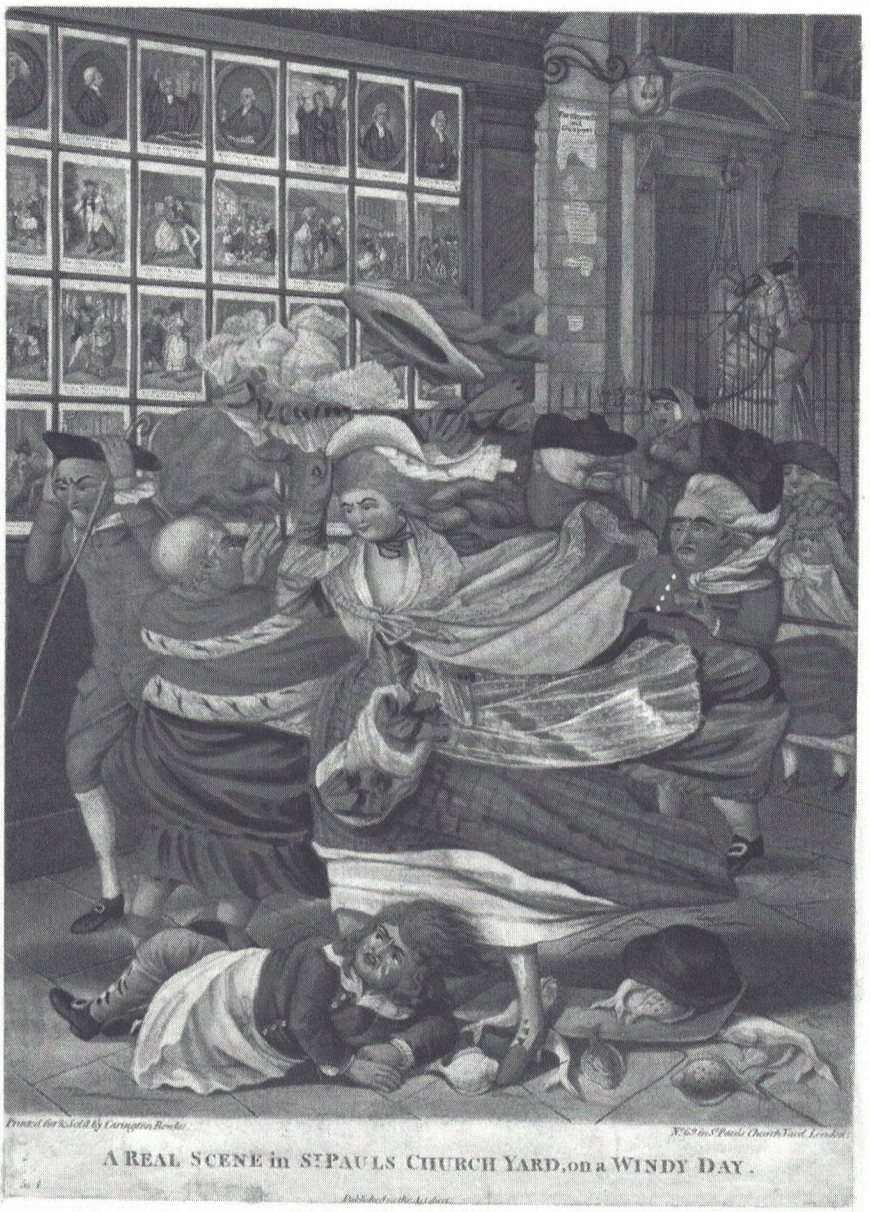

Figure 14: "A Real Scene in St. Pauls Church Yard, on a Windy Day" (London: Carrington Bowles, [1783]). Coloured mezzotint, 35.0 x 25.0. London, British Museum, 1935,0522.1.30. The Trustees of the British Museum.

approval, an indication that he himself had studied and critiqued them; the original painted version of Mrs Humphreys's "Haydn" he thought such a 'bad' likeness that the engraver, his friend Bartolozzi, attempted to correct it – something verifiable by comparing different impressions – though he thought the final result little better[151].

Because the publication dates of prints are generally known from inscriptions on them, a requirement of British copyright legislation, those caricatures issued simultaneously with "Giovanni Haydn" that would have displayed alongside it may be identified. Gillray's print captioned "Oh! that this too solid flesh would melt", the Humphreys publication that according to publication details immediately preceded her "Haydn", for example, is a splendid piece of visual humour (Fig. 15)[152]. One doesn't need to understand a word of English to enjoy the exaggerated desperation expressed on the face of the ridiculously corpulent man, on his knees, clinging to his equally corpulent beloved, who may, or may not be on the point of yielding to him. However, the quotation from Hamlet's famous soliloquy in Act 1 of Shakespeare's tragedy which gives the image its title completely subverts Shakespeare's meaning, turning what in the play has tragic consequences into unmistakeable comedy. Given that "Hamlet" is a play known to have particularly interested Haydn – his print of a scene from "Hamlet" has already been discussed, and he attended a performance when he was in London[153] – the composer is likely to have understood this.

Haydn would also certainly have grasped another of Gillray's jokes in "Oh! that this too solid flesh would melt", the inscription "Designed for the Shakespeare Gallery", a reference to the earliest and most celebrated of the commercial galleries. John Boydell, proprietor of Shakespeare Gallery, had pretentiously argued that his gallery provided opportunities for British painters to emulate the manner of the Old Masters. Gillray here points out that Boydell's aspiration was a joke in itself, a view widely held. Years later "Oh! that this too solid flesh would melt" turns up as one of the prints showcased in the window of Mrs Humphreys' shop as depicted in Gillray's caricature "Very Slippery Weather", an indication that the humour at the heart of the image held a long-lasting appeal[154].

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[151] Haydn's opinion is recorded in a letter by his biographer Griesinger dated 12 June 1799: Edward Olleson, George August Griesinger's Correspondence with Breitkopf & Hartel, (HJB III) 1965, pp. 5–53, at p. 10.

[152] BMC, no. 8013. Published 20 March 1791.

[153] Haydn's presence in a side-box at a performance of "Hamlet" was noted in a review: The Oracle, 14 October 1794.

[154] BMC, no. 11100. Donald, Age of Caricature, pp. 32f., pl. 32.

Figure 15: James Gillray, "Oh! that this too solid flesh would melt" (London: Hannah Humphrey, 20 March 1791). Etching, 22.7 x 25.7. Chicago, Art Institute, 1928.1404. Gift of Thomas F. Furness in memory of William McCallin McKee.

Not long after Haydn made his appearance in Mrs Humphrey's window, Gillray produced another Shakespeare-themed caricature. "Patience on a Monument" is a pitiless satire on the social pretentions of older elite women[155]. But the title alludes to Viola's line "Like patience sitting on a monument smiling at grief" from "Twelfth Night". These words come from the speech that Haydn chose for his only setting of words from Shakespeare, one of his first set of English Canzonettas, published in London in 1794[156]. In view of Haydn's close engagement with English prints, it

[155] BMC, no. 7971. Published on 19 September 1791.

[156] Hob.XXVIa:34. For discussion of the relationship of Haydn's canzonetta to images of the time, see Thomas Tolley, "Exemplary Patience": Haydn, Hoppner and Mrs Jordan, Imago Musicae, XX (2003), pp. 109–41.

does not seem farfetched to suggest that his attention was first drawn to this Shakespearean quotation either by Gillray's image, or possibly by the print that inspired Gillray, "Patience on a Monument" by Valentine Green after a painting by Maria Cosway, an admirer of Haydn. One of the prints Haydn obtained from Macklin was after Cosway's wonderful "Lodona", illustrating a poem by Pope[157].

HAYDN AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY

Maria Cosway's painting "Patience on a Monument" was first shown in 1781 at the Royal Academy exhibition, which by then had established itself as the premier showcase for artists active in Britain[158]. By the time of Haydn's arrival in London the Academy's annual exhibition regularly received support through visits by members of the royal family, enhancing its prestige. Mentions of Haydn in the diary of one leading member of the Academy (Joseph Farington), and the inclusion of his portrait in a series of likenesses (by George Dance) initially devoted exclusively to Royal Academicians, strongly suggest that the composer interested himself in the Royal Academy when he was in London[159].

The best evidence that Haydn attended the Academy's exhibitions is, of course, the fact that portraits of Haydn were exhibited in two exhibitions held during his first visit to England (in 1791 and 1792 respectively), a persuasive incentive for the composer to look for himself. His interest in these exhibitions is confirmed by the evidence that a number of prints recorded in his collection reproduced pictures that were actually on show at the time. It would seem that the experience of seeing the paintings persuaded him to acquire reproductions of those pictures on show that he found most appealing, in line with expectations of the public on the part of many artists who contributed.

Items displayed in all Royal Academy annual exhibitions may be identified today chiefly on the basis of entries in published exhibition catalogues, sold for the convenience of visitors. These list the titles and artists of exhibits,

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[157] Landon V, p. 393, no. 28 (misread as Ladana); Poetic Description of Choice and Valuable Prints (1794), pp. 13f.

[158] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCLXXXI, The Thirteenth (London 1781), p. 7, no. 139.

[159] Farington, a painter, mentions meetings with Haydn in his diary: The Diary of Joseph Farington, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Mackintyre, 17 vols, New Haven 1978–1998, I, pp. 276, 353, 356, cf. III, 1062. George Dance's drawing of Haydn is one of a series of portrait drawings which previously was exclusively devoted to Royal Academicians. Haydn's inclusion among them is very telling.

arranged in numerical sequence within the rooms available for display in the approximate order in which they were intended to be seen within the exhibition.

For 1791 no further evidence has come to light to indicate how precisely the items were arranged, though the catalogue shows that Guttenbrunn's portrait of Haydn hung with a great number of other pictures in the main space, known as the "Great Room" on the (British) first floor of the building used by the Academy, Somerset House, not far from the Poet's Gallery. It was in this room that Haydn's eye appears to have particularly fallen on a pair of smaller paintings by Henry Singleton (1766–1839) entitled respectively "Nurture and Education"[160]. Singleton's original paintings cannot now be traced, but impressions of the very prints Haydn acquired, engraved in the popular stipple technique, depict, in "Nurture", a young mother tenderly leaning over the crib of a sleeping infant and, in "Education", the same mother holding the child on her lap, teaching him to read from an open book[161]. The sentiment and the maternal theme evidently appealed to the composer. The pair was published on 1 February 1793. Since Haydn was in Austria at this time, it seems reasonable to deduce he obtained the engravings at some point during his second visit to London (1794–1795). If this is correct, it strongly suggests that the images stuck in his memory over a prolonged period. These prints were issued by publishers from whom he made no further acquisitions, so he may have gone out of his way to obtain the images[162].

Also at the 1791 Royal Academy exhibition, in the 'Exhibition Room of Sculptures and Drawings' on the ground floor, Haydn probably noted a set of four detailed drawings by the artist John Francis Rigaud, depicting scenes from the tragic end of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots[163]. At the 1792 exhibition, three further drawings by Rigaud completing this same series were also displayed, this time in the 'Antique Room', a chamber traditionally used for students to draw from casts, but in 1792 employed for the first time to extend considerably the overall exhibition space, one token of how during Haydn's first London visit the stature of the annual

[160] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Third (1791), nos 2, 40. In the catalogue "Nurture" was inadvertently called "Nature".

[161] Landon V, p. 393, no. 49: "2. Blatt: Education dann Natura [sic?] nach Singleton von [William] Bond under [James] Godby".

[162] Poland Street.

[163] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Third (1791), nos 568–71: "Mary queen of Scots going to the place of execution"; "Mary queen of Scots at prayers of the scaffold"; "Mary queen of Scots at the block"; "Mary queen of Scots beheaded".

exhibition increased[164]. In its published form, Haydn owned this whole series, in all likelihood the gift of Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon[165]. A memoir of Rigaud written by his son explains that all seven scenes were commissioned by Bertie as illustrations to his musical composition "A Representation of the Execution of Mary Queen of Scot's [sic] in Seven Views"[166]. Bertie, who was in close contact with Haydn during his visits to England, had already established contact with the Austrian by 1782, when as a concert promoter he began commissioning compositions from Haydn for performance in London[167]. The published versions of Rigaud's scenes, by William Gardiner (who engraved two of Hamilton's "Months"), are actually dated the year previous to the exhibition of the equivalent drawings, so it is possible Haydn had received his printed version even before the originals went on show. Arguably this may have acted as an incentive to explore the exhibition in search of the originals of works with which he was already familiar.

Among other exhibits in the Antique Room in 1792 was a small oval watercolour by Westall, depicting a sleeping infant tenderly watched over by a young female figure, subject matter with significant points in common with Singleton's "Nurture". The catalogue entry for Westall's picture describes it as "Cupid Sleeping[,] From a Poem addressed to Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire by Mrs Robinson"[168]. Haydn acquired the print of this, an engraving by William Nutter, published by E. M. Diemar on 1 January 1793[169]. Here again, the composer appears to have gone out of

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[164] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Fourth (1792), nos 66ff.: "The Sheriff entering the chapel of Mary Queen of Scots the morning of her execution"; "The funeral procession of Mary Queen of Scots"; "The entombing of Mary Queen of Scots".

[165] Landon V, p. 398, no. 329.

[166] William L. Pressly, Facts and Recollections of the XVIII[th] Century in a Memoir of John Francis Rigaud Esq., R.A. by Stephen Francis Dutilh Rigaud, Walpole Society, 50 (1984), pp. 3–160, at p. 84.
For publication details of Abingdon's composition, see Derek McCulloch, The Musical Oeuvre of Willoughby Bertie, 4[th] Earl of Abingdon (1940–99), The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle, 33 (2000), pp. 1–28, at pp. 11f.

[167] For insights into Haydn's relationship with Abingdon when the composer was in England, see Tolley, Divorce a la mode, pp. 9–42. For Abingdon's contact with Haydn in the early 1780s, see Thomas Tolley, James Cervetto and the Origin of Haydn's D Major Cello Concerto, Eighteenth-Century Music, 16 (2019), pp. 9–29.

[168] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Fourth (1792), no. 448.

[169] For a digital reconstruction of the 1792 Royal Academy exhibition display based on the evidence of the catalogue and of Sandby's drawings, see Mark Hallett, 1792: A Guided Tour, in: The Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018, ed. Mark Hallett, Sarah Victoria Turner and Jessica Feather, London 2018. Several pictures

his way to acquire an image a significant time after the original had been shown publicly, when he first saw it, a token of how such works appear to have made a lasting impression on him.

Unusually for the Royal Academy exhibition in 1792 the precise location within the display for many items may be reconstructed on the basis of surviving drawings recording the disposition of the pictures on the walls of each of the rooms used for the exhibitions, the work of Thomas Sandby, one of three Royal Academicians comprising this year's hanging committee. These drawings, for 1792 only, permit an appreciation of what a visitor like Haydn actually saw when walking through the exhibition. Although Sandby provided no titles for the paintings, nor did he sketch the images themselves, his drawings show the relative sizes and shapes of the pictures, as well as the names of many artists within the frames of their respective contributions[170].

Sandby's drawings reveal that the hanging committee employed a number of general principles in designing their exhibition, tenets that had probably been developed over many years. Firstly, the pictures were tightly packed together so that as much of the wall space was covered as possible, a principle that presented something of a challenge to those arranging large numbers of images with enormously varying dimensions and shapes. Secondly, to aid a sense of coherency in the display a line was always employed – referred to as "the line" – well above the eye-level of visitors, running horizontally through the middle of each wall in all the main exhibition rooms. Above this the largest pictures were displayed, the lower edge of their frames running along the line. The space above these large pictures, running up to the ceiling, was usually filled up in so far as this was possible by smaller pictures. Below the line a selection of moderate and smaller pictures was shown, those with detail that required close viewing. These were generally arranged in roughly two or three tiers (more for very small pictures), with the upper edge of the pictures in the top tier running along "the line". On each wall an attempt was also made to balance the arrangement symmetrically on either side.

So, in the case of Westall's "Cupid Sleeping", the combined evidence of Sandby's drawing and the exhibition catalogue demonstrates that it hung in

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in the exhibition have been identified in the present essay not featured in Hallett's reconstruction.

[170] Sandby's drawings remain in the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, London. For the history and context of the Royal Academy exhibitions, see the essays in: Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780–1836, ed. David H. Solkin, New Haven 2001.

the very middle of the west wall (actually a temporary screen not a permanent wall) of the 'Antique Room' the part beneath "the line"[171]. The picture was therefore very conveniently positioned for close viewing, in a situation that could not have commanded any more favourable attention for such an image relative to its size. Although Sandby did not identify Rigaud's three scenes from the end of Mary Queen of Scots by recording the artist's name on his drawing, their location may still be identified. They are represented by the only sequence of three small images of the same dimensions. These appear on the far-right side of the west wall, three tiers beneath "the line". It may be conjectured, therefore, that Haydn, in common with other visitors, would have encountered Rigaud's scenes not long after viewing Westall's "Cupid Sleeping", assuming he moved around the room in the clockwise direction that the exhibition catalogue expected.

Hardy's "Portrait of Mr. Haydn" was hung in the small Ante-Room (called in the eighteenth century the 'Anti Room') that exhibition visitors came to first, at the top of the stairs. "Mr. Haydn" is actually one of very few pictures in this room that may be identified today. Entering this room, the portrait appeared on the lowest tier on the left of the facing wall. In the middle of this wall was the door leading to the Great Room, where many visitors would have instinctively headed. As they neared this door visitors would glance at the surrounding pictures. So, in a sense, the position of Haydn's portrait was good publicity for the composer, whose concert series with Salomon coincided with the exhibition.

On a more modest scale than other rooms, the Ante-Room showed one further principle the hanging committee utilised to unify the display on any particular wall. This entailed using one large dominant picture, or sometimes a sequence of pictures, in the centre of the whole wall, usually above "the line", as a focus, 'carrying' other pictures on the same wall. This did not apply in the case of the wall featuring "Mr. Haydn" and the entrance wall of the same room because these walls were dominated by architectural features, a door and an entrance portal. But Sandby's drawings of the two remaining walls in the Ante-Room feature this central focus very clearly. The south wall, for example, was dominated by a large picture by Westall. The catalogue itemises this as "Joanna (the Emperor Charles the 5th's mother) watching the body of her husband – Vide Robertson's life of Charles the 5th". This picture cannot be traced today, but an engraving after it published in 1801 shows Queen Joanna staring at the dead body of her husband, a moment of

[171] Eric Shanes, More Art on the Line: The Royal Academy's Antique Room in the Exhibition of 1792, Burlington Magazine, 150 (2008), pp. 224–31, esp. p. 228.

sombre contemplation[172]. Since this was one of the first large paintings in the exhibition a visitor encountered, the choice of subject matter for this location (referencing contemplative looking) was probably intended to encourage the business of viewing to be taken seriously. One reviewer, however, were not enthusiastic, much preferring the "great merit" of Westall's smaller cheerful contributions than this static "attempt", which was deemed "beyond his powers"[173]. Haydn's acquisition of "Cupid Sleeping" suggests he concurred. The solemn mood of Westall's large painting was maintained on the same wall with a large sketch depicting "Aaron stopping the plague" by Benjamin West (1738–1820) the new President of the Royal Academy, a published version of which shows an imposing figure of the prophet striding over bodies[174]. Haydn probably preferred the paintings on the opposite wall, adjacent to where Hardy's "Mr. Haydn" hung. The wall was dominated by a landscape by Sir Francis Bourgeois entitled in the catalogue "The landing of some Norman horses, out of the Dieppe packet at Brighton" (now Dulwich Art Gallery, London), though Haydn's eye was perhaps captured by two smaller pictures beneath this, both by James Ward (1769–1859) whose style was reminiscent of that of Morland, his brother-in-law. Both pictures are known from engravings published early in 1793: "Hay Makers", showing a group of seasonal labourers taking a break, and "The Rocking Horse", showing two children at play in a walled garden, watched by three others through the bars of an iron gate[175].

Moving to the hanging of the pictures in the Great Room, their arrangement, designed to arrest the attention of visitor, was evidently contrived to make a patriotic statement about the wellbeing of the nation, perhaps called for in view of the King's recent recovery from mental illness and the threat posed by the French Revolution. Most of the most eye-catching pictures above the line featured portraits or subjects associated with the monarchy.

The first wall intended to be seen after entering the Great Room, access to which was exclusively through the door beside Hardy's portrait of Haydn, was dominated by a vast imposing picture by Benjamin West showing "The

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[172] Engraved by William Ward, published London on 3 October 1801 by "Mess[rs] Wards & Co No. 6, Newman Street".

[173] Morning Herald, 7 May 1792.

[174] Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, The Paintings of Benjamin West, New Haven 1986, p. 304, no. 264.

[175] C. Reginald Grundy, James Ward, R.A., London 1909, pp. xix, xlviii, p. 67, no. 97, p. 71, no. 59; Oliver Beckett, The Life and Work of James Ward: The Forgotten Genius, Lewes 1995, pp. 11, 22.

Institution of the Order of the Garter by King Edward III" (Royal Collection), commissioned by the King as part of an lavish decorative scheme for the Audience chamber at Windsor Castle[176]. West set the scene, which is strewn with traditional emblems of the monarchy, in St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. The Castle had been an important royal fortress in the Middle Ages, but it was George III who chose to bring the structure back into use by converting it into a permanent residence for his family. Haydn probably paid attention to this and other pictures by West destined for Windsor on display in the Royal Academy exhibition because he visited the Castle not long afterwards, and his journal recording the visit specifically mentions some of the furnishings in the Chapel, all painted by West[177]. One of the pictures immediately below West's grand ceremonial painting was a prospect view of Windsor Castle by Farington, the Academician whose diary records several meetings with Haydn[178]. Immediately above the same picture by West was Hardy's portrait of Salomon, a painting Haydn would have looked out for. The positioning of this portrait of a leading foreign resident of London next to West's distinctive tribute to the British monarchy was probably intentional, a visual means of implying Salomon's loyalty to the British Crown. When in 1795 the Prince of Wales found himself obliged to marry in the interest of the monarchy, though against his will, Salomon enthusiastically supplied an opera "in Honour of the Marriage of Their Royal Highnesses", which he gratuitously entitled "Windsor Castle"[179].

On the opposite wall, the Windsor theme continued, though in comic vein, with a representation on the left side of "Falstaff in the Laundry Basket" from Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor" (Zurich, Kunsthaus) by Fuseli, an artist well represented in Haydn's collection[180]. In the centre of

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[176] Royal Academy (RA) cat, no. 8: Von Erffa and Staley, Paintings of Benjamin West, pp. 199f., no. 67; Wendy Greenhouse, Benjamin West and Edward III: A Neoclassical Painter and Medieval History, Art History, 8 (1985), pp. 176–91.

[177] Haydn's notes reveal he visited Windsor Castle on the 14 and 15 June 1792: Bartha, pp. 486, 513. For an account of paintings by West mentioned by Haydn at Windsor, see Jerry D. Meyer, Benjamin West's Chapel of Revealed Religion: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Protestant Religious Art, Art Bulletin, LVII (1975), pp. 247–65; Von Erffa and Staley, Paintings of Benjamin West, pp. 374ff., 577–81.

[178] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Fourth (1792), no. 9.

[179] John Peter Salomon, Windsor Castle, an Opera with the Masque of Peleus and Thetis, as performed at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden in Honor of the Nuptials of their Royal Highness, the Prince & Princess of Wales, London: Corri & Dussek, [1796]. Haydn, who attended one of the first performances, thought the music "ganz passable": Bartha, p. 544. According to reports, the original overture was "composed expressly for the occasion by Haydn".

[180] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Fourth (1792), no. 101. Gert Schiff, Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741–1825, 2 vols, Zurich 1973, I, p. 515, no. 883.

the wall adjacent to this was an impressive portrait of George III wearing Garter robes (Herbert Art Gallery, Coventry) by the young Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), recently appointed Principal Painter to the King and making his mark as successor to the recently deceased Sir Joshua Reynolds[181]. A critic commented, "This is one of the best resemblances of the King that we have seen; and next to that of the late Sir Joshua, it possesses the most dignity and richness of effect and colouring of any that his Majesty has sat for"[182]. This was the grandest of several portraits by Lawrence in the 1792 exhibition, including one on the same wall above Hardy's "Mr. Haydn". In the background of the portrait of the King, Lawrence included a view of Eton from the terrace at Windsor Castle. This very view Haydn called "divine [göttlich]" when he visited the Castle in June of this year[183]. Perhaps the significance of the view had already been pointed out to Haydn when he saw the portrait in the exhibition.

On either side of Lawrence's "George III" was a pair of large portraits representing the King's second son the Duke of York and his Duchess, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Prussia, who were married in September 1791 (Private Collection). Both portraits were by John Hoppner (1758–1810), painter to the Prince of Wales. At this time, it was publicly known that the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne had entered into a morganatic marriage with the consequence that any children by this marriage were debarred from the line to the throne. The expectation in 1792 was that the line of succession would continue as a result of the marriage of the Duke of York, so Hoppner's portraits were conceived with this in mind, hence their prominence in the 1792 Academy exhibition.

Haydn was invited by the Prince of Wales to stay at the country estate of the Duke and Duchess of York in November 1791. The Duchess, whose father was dedicatee of Haydn's Opus 50 quartets, made such a considerable impression on the composer that he dedicated to her his collection of arrangements of Scottish songs, published by Napier in 1792 (see Fig. 4 and footnote 84). Haydn describes how she hummed along with all his own pieces performed during this visit, a pleasing indication that his compositions were well known in Berlin[184]. In correspondence and in his journal Haydn winds up his accounts of this visit by recording how the Prince of Wales had commissioned a portrait of the composer to hang in the Prince's

[181] Michael Levey, Sir Thomas Lawrence, New Haven 2005, p. 114f.

[182] The Times, 10 May 1792.

[183] Bartha, p. 513.

[184] The Duchess attracted several musical dedications. It seems likely that Mozart's final piano sonata (K.576) was composed with her in mind.

room, for which Haydn made sittings in December 1791[185]. This portrait (Royal Collection) is also by John Hoppner. An account of the composer sitting for Hoppner in the artist's studio survives[186]. It seems very likely therefore that Haydn would have followed the progress of Hoppner's portraits of the Duke and Duchess of York at the time he sat for Hoppner, an incentive to see them when they were exhibited.

Immediately beneath Lawrence's portrait of the King, below the line, was another picture by West in his series celebrating historical successes of the monarchy, "Edward III crossing the River Somme" (Royal Collection), a subject drawn from the Hundred Years' War that would have struck a particularly patriotic note in 1792, a time of anticipated war with France[187]. On either side of this, below the respective portraits of the Duke and Duchess of York and therefore unmissable for anyone looking at them, was a pair of pictures representing episodes from Thomson's "Seasons", one drawn from "Spring", the other from "Summer"[188]. These pictures, by the artist Robert Smirke (1752–1845), were painted as part of an intended series of no fewer than 22 "Original Pictures" all by Smirke, commissioned by the publisher John Murray, to be engraved as illustrations to a new illustrated edition of Thomson's poem, which was announced in the press in the Spring of 1792 with a view to enlisting subscribers[189]. Murray, however, faced tough competition from other proposals promising cheaper illustrated editions, as a result of which his project was abandoned, though others succeeded.

Smirke's pictures cannot now be traced. What counts in the present context, however, is that subjects explicitly illustrating Thomson's poem were displayed in the 1792 exhibition on a large scale and in a prominent position, where an exhibition visitor like Haydn was unlikely to miss them. Haydn would have seen them as he moved between Hardy's portrait of

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[185] For Haydn's visit to the estate of the Duke and Duchess of York, see his letter to Maria Anna von Genzinger of 20 December 1791 and an entry in the journal he was using at the time: Bartha, pp. 268, 507f. In both accounts Haydn mentions Hoppner was painting his portrait for the Prince of Wales.

[186] For this account, see Tolley, "Exemplary Patience", p. 120.

[187] Von Erffa and Staley, Paintings of Benjamin West, pp. 192f., no. 56.

[188] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy ... The Twenty-Fourth (1792), nos 58 and 70.

[189] See especially: Sandro Jung, Visual Interpretations, Print, and Illustrations of Thomson's The Seasons, 1730–1797, Eighteenth-Century Life, 34/2 (Spring 2010), pp. 23–64; Sandro Jung, Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's The Seasons, 1780–1797, Eighteenth-Century Studies, 44 (2011), pp. 495–514, at p. 515; Kwinten van de Walle, Editorialising Practices, Competitive Marketability and James Thomson's The Seasons, Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies Vol. 38 No. 2 (2015), pp. 257–76.

Salomon towards Guttenbrunn's pair of portraits of Countess Thun and her daughter, which though not explicitly identified by Sandby may none the less be located from his drawing as hanging on the right of the same wall as Smirke's two paintings, on the lowest tier. Haydn would have found Guttenbrunn's "Lady Elizabeth Lambert" in the centre of the wall opposite, in the lowest tier, beneath the large focal point of the arrangement, "Christ disappearing at Emmaus", another compelling picture by Fuseli (now New Haven, Yale Center for British Art)[190].

CONCLUSIONS

As Carpani, Zelter and others pointed out, "Die Jahreszeiten" was a new kind of oratorio. It dealt with the lives of ordinary people and was written in such a way that it might be easily accessible to everyone. They also claimed that it was conceived in the manner of a picture gallery.

Haydn's extensive experience of London's new-style art galleries and exhibitions, the main spaces where paintings were displayed during his visits to England, presented him with an aesthetic model for his later endeavour, which 'spoke' not only to aristocrats, but also to ordinary people and often depicted them. At least one of these exhibitions, that at the Royal Academy, showed him several pointers for the future: how to combine different kinds of pictures; how to hang the pictures of the four walls of a room so that each had its own character; and how to ensure that each wall had a big picture, a focal point, that held all remaining pictures together. These were among the noteworthy features of "Die Jahreszeiten" to which Carpani drew attention. The expansion in such exhibitions, in terms of both frequency and scale, during the time Haydn spent in London was a pointer to a successful mode of entertainment, one that had potential repercussions for musical composition. Carpani and his contemporaries either instinctively recognised this in their experience of the oratorio, or they heard that this was a factor from the composer himself.

In engaging with these exhibitions – he was hardly in a position to ignore them given that his own portrait was a featured in at least two – Haydn took the opportunity to acquire prints reproducing those pictures he particularly responded to, reminders for the future of what he had seen and thought at the time.

One of the issues on his mind revealed by his selection is the relationship of literature to image, something that may reasonably be related to his

[190] Gert Schiff, L'Opera Completa di Fussli, Milan 1977, p. 94, no. 94.

quest for suitable texts for musical setting. Even before coming to Britain it seems likely Haydn tried to absorb something of English poetry. His library featured two volumes of selected verse in English published in Vienna in 1783[191]. The success of these volumes in Austria led to four further volumes appearing over subsequent years, all edited by Joseph Friedrich von Retzer, a member of the lodge to which Haydn applied in 1784. One measure of their merit is that when Mrs Piozzi visited Vienna late in 1786, she purchased the whole set[192]. Haydn did not acquire the four volumes published subsequently, one indication that by the time these appeared he had already acquired the first two, which were sufficient for his needs in planning for a visit to England. In them he would have found examples of verse by Pope, Thomson and many other English poets, tasters for fuller exploration when he was in London.

So, for example, when Haydn acquired Westall's "Cupid Sleeping" it seems not unlikely that part of the delight of this was that it purported to illustrate a recently published poem by Mrs Robinson, a well-known actress and former mistress of the Prince of Wales. If this is so, Haydn would have needed to consult the poem since it did not appear on the print. But for most of the prints he acquired, the relevant verses were part of the printed sheet, inscribed beneath the image. In an analogous though distinct example of text-image relationship, Rigaud's seven scenes concerning Mary, Queen of Scots, which as commissioned by Abingdon certainly had a musical purpose, it seems that Haydn went to considerable lengths to understand the subjects by acquiring the textual source that provided the sources for the scene, William Robertson's "History of Scotland"[193]. Haydn's library featured further writings by this noted historian. So when he encountered Westall's morbid picture "Joanna watching over the Body of her Husband", another subject taken from Robertson, he probably would have grasped this.

But as the composer got to grips with the possibilities such material opened up for him, it is clear that Thomson's "Seasons" was the text from Britain that offered him the greatest potential and the most interesting challenges. Not only was this hugely popular, generating many new editions after copyright expired on it in 1774, it was also a favourite source for rustic imagery, widely acknowledged to excite the imagination, fit for painters to explore. The pictures by Smirke Haydn probably saw in 1792 were hardly unique as "Seasons" illustrations exhibited at the Royal Academy. Every

[191] "Choice of the english [sic] Poets by Retzer. 1.2. Tom[es] Vienna".

[192] See Thomas F. Bonnell, The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry, 1765–1810, Oxford, 2008, p. 340.

[193] Hörwarthner, Joseph Haydn's Library, p. 415, no. 35.

Academy exhibition held when Haydn was in London featured a selection of such paintings, such as the "Storm, [from] Thomson's Seasons" shown in 1794[194]. Indeed, Thomson's poem furnished some of the most frequently encountered subject matter for artists in Britain of the period.

A further incentive for Haydn to pursue the visual aspects of "The Seasons" was his direct and productive contact with the leading Thomson scholar of the period, the antiquarian and literary editor Thomas Park, who at the time he knew Haydn enjoyed a successful career as a reproductive engraver[195]. In 1791 Park demonstrated his credentials for working on "The Seasons" by interviewing one of Thomson's last living acquaintances, recollections subsequently published[196]. Thereafter Park consulted as many early editions of the poem as possible to understand how Thomson's original conception of the work developed, research that resulted in Park publishing his own authoritative edition in 1805[197]. On giving up engraving in the mid 1790s, Park turned to poetry. A collection of verse published in 1797 featured a sonnet prefaced "Written in an Alcove where Thomson composed his Seasons". Also in this collection was a short poem entitled "On Haydn"[198].

Decisive evidence for Haydn's immediate association with Park is an autograph letter of 22 October 1794 sent to Park, thanking him for "the two so charming Prints" that the engraver had given the composer, and offering in return "a little Sonat" for Mrs Park, a distinguished pianist

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[194] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXCIV, The Twenty-Sixth, London 1794, no. 7.

[195] Thomas Tolley, Haydn, the Engraver Thomas Park, and Maria Hester Park's 'Little Sonat', Music & Letters, 82 (2001), pp. 421–31. Park reproduced major paintings by Reynolds and Gainsborough among others, confirming his status as a leading engraver.

[196] [Thomas Park,] Memorandum of Thomson; communicated by James Robertson, Esq. of Richmond in Surrey, late Surgeon to the household of Kew, October 17, 1791, in: The English Gentleman's Library Manual; or a Guide to the Formation of a Library of Select Literature, ed. William Goodhugh, London 1827, pp. 274–82.

[197] Thomas Park, ed., The Poetical Works of James Thomson. Collated with the Best Editions, 1st ed., 2 vols, London 1805. This edition was part of a series of 42 volumes and six supplementary volumes, all edited by Park between 1805 and 1808, entitled 'Works of the British Poets'. In correspondence Park reveals his own amazement concerning how his study of early editions of the poem led him to a new appreciation of how the poem had come into being: Robert C. Jenkins, The Last Gleanings of a Christian Life: An Account of the Life of Thomas Park, F.S. A., The Friend of the Poets Cowper, Hayley, and Southey; of Sir Walter Scott, of Haydn, and of Miss Seward, London 1885, p. 28.

[198] T[homas] Park, Sonnets and other Small Poems, London 1797, pp. 16 ('Sonnet XVI'), 33.

and published composer[199]. A later memoir of Park confirms that Haydn "honoured [Mrs Park] with a dedication"[200]. The work in question may reasonably be identified with Haydn's two-movement piano sonata in D (Hob. XVI:51), first published in 1805[201].

The pair of prints that Park gave Haydn, examples of Park's distinction as an engraver, appear on the composer's inventory with further information that permits their identification and their date, 1790[202]. One of them, entitled "Rosalie & Lubin", was after a painting first exhibited with this title in 1787 by William Beechey, the same painter represented in the 1792 Royal Academy exhibition with a portrait of Thomas Sandby, one of the organisers, and to whom Salomon had sat for his portrait in 1784[203]. Beechey's "Rosalie & Lubin" (untraced) showed an episode from a very popular song of the period, originally written for an opera, "The Carnival of Venice" (first performed in 1781)[204]. Although this was a comic opera, the song tells the tragic story of Lubin, "a Shepherd boy", and Rosalie, his beloved. Their parents bless their love, but before they can wed Lubin drowns trying to save a stray lamb that falls into a river. Surviving impressions of Park's print, showing Lubin in the river with the distraught figure of Rosalie on the bank, include the relevant verses from the song. Its pair, "Lubin & Rosalie", depicted the lovers together with the lamb lying on the bank, a blissful idyll[205].

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[199] Bartha, p. 302, no. 205a. For Maria Hester Park's compositions, see Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer (eds), From Convent to Concert Hall: A Guide to Women Composers, Westport, Connecticut 2003, pp. 118, 134, 140.

[200] Jenkins, Last Gleanings, p. 30, cf. pp. 7, 11.

[201] Published by Breitkopt & Härtel.

[202] Landon V, p. 393, no. 46.

[203] W. Roberts, Sir William Beechey, R.A., London 1907, pp. 38, 214.

[204] For the music, see The Carnival of Venice, a Comic Opera, as Performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, Composed by Mr. Linley for the Voice and Harpsichord, London: A. & P. Thompson, n.d. [1781?], p. 41. For the opera's libretto, [Richard Tickell], Songs, duos, trios, chorusses, &c, in the comic opera of The Carnival of Venice, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London: s.n., 1781. The words of the song appear in several song anthologies of the late eighteenth century, such as The Busy Bee, Or, Vocal Repository. Being a Selection of the Most Favourite Songs, &c. contained in the English Operas that have been sung at the Public Gardens, 2 vols, London: J.S. Barr, n.d. [1790], p. 270, no. CCXXXIII.

[205] According to Haydn's inventory the print reproduced a painting by Richard Morton Paye. As in Haydn's inventory, both prints (one after Beechey's painting, the other after Paye's) may be traced in inventories close in date to Haydn's, confirming that Park conceived them as a pair: e.g. Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval. État détaillé et raisonné des dessins et estampes, ed. M. Bénard, Paris 1810, p. 386, no. 10965.

In the present context the importance of this exchange of gifts between Haydn and the Parks lies in the nature of the inspiration it offered the composer. It is reasonably clear that the form and character of Haydn's sonata for Mrs Park was a response to the pictorial content of her husband's prints, the composition's two-movement structure determined by the prints' two-part narrative. While the first movement, a flowing Andante with triplet accompaniment, implies the rural context and the current of the river, the short second movement, a tempestuous Presto with repeated offbeat forzando markings and much dissonance, appears calculated to express the panic of the protagonists and the force of the water as depicted by Beechey. This musical reply to Park's prints may be understood as an example of an approach to composition Haydn conceived as he engaged with the art scene in London, which it is here submitted was a taster of what was subsequently developed still further in "Die Jahreszeiten". It seems quite likely Park himself understood this because his poem dedicated to Haydn reflects an analogous binary structure. While the first verse invokes Haydn's "Harsh Discord ... in a rage of sound, With frantic terror", the second contrasts this with the composer's "soft and dulcet notes ... The soul of heavenly harmony", which Mrs Park's "little sonat" illustrates unambiguously (though in a different order).

On the basis of this exchange between composer and engraver it does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that Park and Haydn discussed the aesthetic issues at stake in finding correspondences between their arts. A likely token of this is the quotation, slightly abbreviated, that Park used appropriately to preface his poem "On Haydn": "—irritat, mulcet, ut magus. Hor[atius]", words Park clearly applied to the composer and to his compositions. Horace's original, from "Epistles" 2.1,212-13 reads "Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet, ut magus ([he may] provoke, sooth and fill with bogus fears like a magician)". With a minor change of word, Haydn recorded Park's curtailed version of this quotation in a notebook he used at the time of his association with Park[206]. Since no other source has been identified that makes the abbreviation common to both of them – and Park applies it specifically to Haydn – it seems clear that these words, and the concepts underlying them, were a topic discussed by the two men, perhaps an adjunct of some further exchange between them concerning "The Seasons".

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[206] Haydn's version reads: "Excitat, mulcet, ut Magus, Hor:[atius]": Bartha, p. 547. The next entry made on the same page includes the date 24 March 1795, which provides a 'terminus ante quem' for when he jotted down the quotation from Horace. For comment, see: Joachim Draheim, Vertonungen antiker Texte vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 68f; E. Kerr Borthwick, The Latin Quotations in Haydn's London Notebooks, Music & Letters, 71 (1990), pp. 505–10, at p. 509.

Given that Haydn's inspiration for the sonata he composed for Mrs Park came from prints 'gifted' to him by their engraver, not apparently from prints Haydn chose for himself, it might seem reasonable to infer that other prints listed in his inventory, perhaps all of them, were likewise gifts, undermining the case argued in this essay that his collection provides evidence for Haydn as a committed though intermittent visitor to London's art exhibitions.

In the case of Guttenbrunn, his longstanding association with Haydn is one reason why the artist could have presented the composer with examples of his work, rather than Haydn experiencing for himself Guttenbrunn's showroom and selecting voluntarily what enthused him. Perhaps. On the other hand, Haydn's claim at the time he composed "Die Jahreszeiten" that his wife had an affair with Guttenbrunn before the painter left Eszterház tends to dispel any notion of such close amity between them that might lead to the presentation of extensive gifts[207]. While Anna Maria Haydn may conceivably have received a version of Guttenbrunn's portrait of her husband as a gift from the artist before he left for Italy, explaining why (according to Haydn) she only permitted requests to copy it without allowing it out of her possession (and she never travelled far from Vienna), Guttenbrunn is unlikely to have honoured her husband in an equivalent way[208]. Assuming the version of Guttenbrunn's portrait of Haydn that was in Anna Maria's possession dates from the early 1770s (a version she apparently never parted with), this evidence strongly implies that the version exhibited in London in 1791 (the basis of Schiavanetti's print) could not have been copied directly from the one associated with Anna Maria. The evidence (presented above) that Guttenbrunn was not averse to making secondary versions of his pictures when opportunities arose in order to advance his career in London tends to support the interpretation advanced here that Guttenbrunn kept preliminary drawings used to paint his portraits, which could be reused should the occasion arise[209]. Presenting examples of his work to Haydn would not have been part of this strategy.

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[207] Griesinger to Breitkopt & Härtel, letter dated 13 November 1799: Olleson, Georg August Griesinger's Correspondence, p. 13.

[208] Haydn told Griesinger that his wife's reluctance to part with Guttenbrunn's portrait of him was because they had once been lovers: Olleson, Georg August Griesinger's Correspondence, p. 13.

[209] The hypothesis presented here that Guttenbrunn when in London made substantial use of drawings achieved earlier in his career is consistent with the two surviving versions of Guttenbrunn's portrait of Haydn and with the dating of these portraits suggested by Landon and others: Landon V, p. 497. Although the two paintings represent the same composition, there are distinct differences that are worth noting in connection with establishing their dates. For example, while Version A (Haydn-Haus, Eisenstadt) shows the

It seems most unlikely, therefore, that Haydn's Guttenbrunn prints entered his collection as gifts. Indeed, the notion that Haydn might have been repeatedly favoured by gifts of prints from other artists or publishers hardly stands up to close scrutiny in view of the range and variety of prints represented in his collection. Had print publishers fallen over each other in a race to present examples of their industry to Haydn, the composer of the moment, then surely the most successful of these publishers, Boydell, whom Haydn met and to whom belongs the credit for devising the new-style commercial galleries, would have taken the trouble to offer some of his prints to the composer as well? But there is no trace of this in Haydn's collection. By contrast, Macklin and John Raphael Smith, both of whom ran important exhibition rooms, were very well represented among the prints Haydn owned despite no record of their activities featuring in Haydn's writings. The accumulation of evidence therefore presents an incontrovertible argument that it was experience of these, and of the Royal Academy exhibitions, that shaped Haydn's idea for an extended composition that acted like 'a picture gallery'. Here lay the genesis of "Die Jahreszeiten".

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composer fresh-faced, Version B (Private Collection, London, formerly Collection of Stefan Zweig) and Schiavanetti's reproduction of it, though enhancing or softening some of Haydn's facial features, hints at an older man, betraying more wrinkles, especially around the eyes, corresponding to a later date. More significantly, in Version A the form of the collar of Haydn's jacket and waistcoat is consistent with a date in the early 1770s, whereas in Version B the shape of the collar has been considerably modified, bringing this article of clothing into line with the fashion represented in the portraits of Haydn by Hardy and Hoppner, both certainly painted during the composer's first visit to London (1791–92). It may also be noted that the form of the square pianoforte that Haydn is working at in both Versions A and B would have been relatively new and of the moment in the early 1770s, suggested that at that time Haydn was happy to be portrayed in connection with the latest musical technology. However, during his visit to London in 1791–92 documentation associates Haydn with a number of keyboard instruments in concerts he gave, though nothing of the kind that Guttenbrunn portrayed in either version.